

Towards a Marxist Understanding of the Charity Retail Form

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Doctor of Philosophy

by

Nicola Diane Livingstone

Heriot-Watt University

School of the Built Environment

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Abstract

This thesis examines the development of the charity retailing form, adopting an open Marxist approach which can uncover the practices with create and reproduce this social practice. The ruptures and struggles which permeate capitalist society flow through the charity retailer and consequently through the body of the research. The labour processes within the charity retailer and the spatial representation of the urban form of the charity retailer within the built environment are the central research themes to be addressed. The research was primarily based around the relations at shop floor level and the various actors who reproduce these practices, such as volunteers, managers, area managers and those within the management hierarchy. The research decided to look at charities which have developed to become more professional and commercial in their response to charity and also retailing, to offer an analysis of a retail form under transformation. Mixed research methods were implemented, with both qualitative and quantitative analysis carried out through the software programmes NVivo8 and SPSS respectively. The research suggests that the charity retailer has become a capitalist charity retailer, which chooses locations conducive to profit maximisation and the availability of a strong volunteer base. The charity retailer exists through antagonism of rent/location, volunteer/management and capital/charity. The charity retailer is consistently struggling against the capitalist form of reproduction, attempting to negate the consequences of capitalist crises, however it is a form which is constantly subsumed and limited by the capitalist mode of reproduction.

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Glossary

C / C¹:	Commodity
CSR:	Corporate social responsibility
EARNs:	Edinburgh area retail needs study
LEEP:	Lothian and Edinburgh Environmental
LP:	Labour power
M / M¹:	Money
M&S:	Marks & Spencer
MP:	Means of production
NARTS:	The Association of Resale Professionals Partnership
PDSA:	The people's dispensary for sick animals
UK:	United Kingdom
USA:	United States of America
V:	Volunteer

**Towards a Marxist Understanding
of the Charity Retail Form**

Chapter 1:

Introduction to Charity Retailing and the Value Form

1.1: The Capitalist Charity Retailer

Charity retailers are ubiquitous today, existing as an integral niche within the city form and the archetypal high street apparent in Britain. The charity retailer in the Twenty-First Century represents a diverse and dynamic sector, which experiences competition from similar retailers as well as non-charity retailers. Today it is more surprising to encounter a retail centre which lacks a charity retailing presence. Considering the behaviour of the retail market, specifically from the period immediately after the conclusion of World-War-Two to the present, it could not have been anticipated that the presence of charity retailers would become a substantial element within the retail market and social practices in Britain. Charity retailers can no longer be dismissed as a marginal aspect of society, due to their presence within the so-called 'third sector' they can be considered an essential part of state restructuring. This research focuses on the uneven geographical development of these distinctive retailers within Britain and the labour processes inherent within them, examining how they have become indelible within the urban locale.

Charity finds representation across the world in many ways. In the United Kingdom, one way charity is manifested is in the built environment, specifically through the retail market in the form of the charity retailer. The charity retailer is not a space which merely exists in capitalist society, but is rather a space of capitalism. The charity retailer is a social form, which is created by capitalism, but also creates capitalism. This is a process which is constantly altering, changing and moving. Capitalism, by its very nature is never still. Charity retailers, as a space of capitalism, are in motion. Form is a 'mode of existence of the contradictory movement in which social existence consists' (Bonefeld, Gunn & Psychopedis, 1992: xv), and illustrates the interconnected relations imbued in society. The form of the charity retailer then, is antagonistic, contradictory, as with all capitalist forms. This research makes an intervention into the reproduction of capitalist charity retailing, adopting an open Marxist approach, critiquing the form and content of this particular retailers' continuing evolution. It questions the operation of the charity retailer, examining it from both conceptual and

empirical perspectives. In doing so, the research investigation offers an opportunity to rethink the charity retailer, reconsider the labour processes which it produces (and which produce it) and the built environment through which it is expressed.

1.2: An Introduction to Existing Literature

There are presently lacunae in the research both conceptually and empirically surrounding charity retailers. Literature regarding the retail market and the urban restructuring of the property market is increasingly extensive, yet investigation into the charity retailing within it remains insufficient. As the material available for secondary research into charity retailing is lacking, this research provides a vast spectrum for investigation, but also recognises that the extensiveness of the background research is limited.

The work which does exist, particularly that of Horne (1994, 1995, 1998, 2000a, 2000b, 2002) Broadbridge (1994, 1996, 2003a, 2003b) and Parsons (2002, 2004, 2006, 2007), is predominantly concentrated on marketing, gender issues and retail and distribution management with this niche sector. A 'Charity Shops Survey' is published annually by 'Charity Finance' and proves to be a practical resource, but does not include nor represent all charity retailers in operation. This work, while obviously a useful reference is restrictive, as it is merely descriptive in its approach. There has been some investigation into the strategic and corporate like property management of a present day charity retailer. In their text, Edwards and Ellison (2004) purport to analyse how different businesses are '*aligning real estate with business strategy*,' and developed a case study with regard to Cancer Research UK. Currently, only one other publication (Alexander, Cryer & Wood, 2008) has been found to examine the spatiality of charity retailers through locational planning.

Presently, little interpretation is offered into understanding the development of charity retailing within contemporary society. There has been no consideration of why and how charity retailing and volunteering practices have manifested themselves in the social form of the United Kingdom. The existing literature lacks critique and although it provides descriptive analysis of the charity retailer, it fails to question the emergence of what is today, a prominent aspect of the retail market. This research

begins to act as a remedy to this position, presenting a critically different, theoretically informed understanding of the evolution of the charity retailer.

1.3: A Marxist Approach

The expression 'charity retailing' itself provides us with the first of many contradictions and paradoxes encountered throughout the research: charity is an indication of benevolence or donation, an act presupposing some benefit to others, whereas retailing is a mode of exchange, that of money for commodities. Such a contradiction is representative of the charity retailers within capitalist Britain, where the market society upon which the economy is founded finds expression through continual exchange, principally the accumulation of profits through the money form and the acquisition of private property. Simultaneously class relations are reproduced and the value form reinforced. The emergence and constitution of the charity retailing niche appears to exist in opposition to the reproduction of the market society, as it is continually negating its consequences, but is also indelibly incorporated into its logic.

The social form, the human form, as labour power, is the source of all value in capitalist reproduction. As labour power, through employment and work, we create a commodity which is not ours, but contains our labour power. The reason for engaging in this negative relationship is to obtain a wage, through the money form. In order to survive in capitalist society, commodities must be consumed, commodities which must be paid for through the money form. The movement of capitalism creates the class relation, creates poverty and separates us from our own ability to survive. Consumption of commodities is an enforced necessity. Our utility, our labour power, is represented through the price of the commodity, its cost. Utility (or use-value) and cost (exchange-value) realised through the wage labour relationship, is the grounding of Marx's value form and the basis for his critique of capitalist society.

Through capitalist reproduction, we are all separated, but in a way which appears to be united, in a position of separation in unity, as antagonisms of capitalism colour our lives daily. The charity retailer is subsumed into this capitalist mode of existence, but is also against it, consistently trying to transform society. This statement introduces the central concepts from which the detailed research has developed. These are discussed in more detail throughout the thesis (particularly in chapter 3).

1.4: The Research Question and Objectives

This research aims to offer an alternative way of thinking about charity retailing, a critique which presents something different and transcends the current analysis and literature. It is a two-fold approach. Firstly the research contributes to the growing literature on charity retailing and secondly, it does so in a theoretically informed way. Therefore literature relating to both the research area and the open Marxist perspective is enhanced. The question guiding the research is:

'How can the research uncover and illustrate the contradictory form and reconstitution of the charity retailer within contemporary capitalist society at the beginning of the twenty first century?'

It is important to recognise that the response to this particular question is potentially limitless and changing, just as society continues to change daily. Critique and interpretation is not static, but fluid and dynamic. This research is only a starting point, an initiation, a movement of thought. It is an interpretation of the charity retailer in the early twenty first century, representative only of a marginal temporal incident in the ongoing quagmire that is the evolution of capitalist society. The research questions the practices of the charity retailer and proposes a beginning, a catalyst for further investigation and conceptualisation. It does not offer an absolute answer, it cannot, as the result of the research is indubitably, further questions. This progressive research process then, of comprehending the practices of the charity retailer is specifically concerned with the following objectives:

1. Development of a suitable research method through which the guiding research question and objectives can be considered.
2. To revisit history, by offering an alternative historical narrative of the evolution of the capitalist charity retailer.
3. Conceptualisation of charity and charity retailing, questioning its reproduction and creating a novel, Marxist informed theorisation.
4. Analysis of the labour practices within the charity retailer. Interpret how the value form is articulated and offer a reinterpretation of what is understood by the 'volunteer'.

5. Adopt case study analysis to investigate the historical-spatial expression of the charity retailer and its urban representation. Elucidate upon how the 'space' of the charity retailer can be construed.

The research question and objectives are addressed through the research elements, which are illustrated in table 1, overleaf. The methodologies adopted promote interaction between the qualitative and quantitative, the conceptual and empirical, the theory and the practice. Various methods were adopted, including participant observation, questionnaire distribution, interviews, web site construction (internet research) and an extensive literature review. The following chapter expands upon the processes outlined in the table and provides a detailed account of their implementation.

Table 1: Research Elements

Element Number	Title	Objective	Method
1	Conceptual development.	Elucidate conceptual framework. Clarify Marxist approach.	Consultation of secondary sources.
2	Addressing the literature.	Compilation of relevant research information.	Analysis of literature and secondary sources. Specific data collected for Edinburgh case study.
3	Participant observation.	Frequent research in a charity retailer, engage, observe and interact.	Choose particular shop and charity, volunteer weekly.
4	Questionnaire design.	Create concise, informative, ethical questionnaires.	Consult publications. Discuss questions and pilot.
5	Web site construction.	Utilise an alternative data collection method. Create forum for discussion and make research accessible on the world wide web.	Website designer consulted, survey monkey used for questionnaire inclusion.
6	Questionnaire distribution.	Widespread distribution, ensuring sufficiently diverse responses from which particular practices could be observed.	Postal distribution UK wide to charity retailers, inclusive of Edinburgh.
7	Case study interviews.	Develop the recurring and prevalent responses from questionnaires and obtain detailed responses.	Semi-structured interviews with various influences in the charity retail sector. Generally concentrated on the case study city, Edinburgh.
8	Analysis.	Respond to the research questions and complete research aims.	Utilisation of NVivo8 and SPSS software. Personal critical analysis.

1.5: Chapter Content and Structure

The thesis is organised into seven chapters, including the introduction. The structure is atypical in its presentation for a PhD thesis. There is neither a devoted literature review chapter, nor specific analysis chapters. The literature, concepts and analysis all flow through each other, throughout the entirety of the thesis. There is however, a chapter specifically concerned with the research methodology. This is chapter two, directly following this introductory chapter. The chapter is included as it is essential to communicate how the research was informed and carried out, however the theorisation of the charity retailer itself, does not directly begin until chapter 3. The chapters move progressively from the more abstract conceptual chapters to the more concrete, data suffused later chapters. However, this approach (as will become apparent in later chapters) recognises that there can be no abstract without the concrete and no concrete without the abstract, they cannot be considered independently of each other. In the same respect, the thesis can be considered as a move from the general to the particular, even though the general and the particular are both open interconnected processes, the general concepts are considered prior to the particular research derived analysis. The chapters take the following structure, beginning with chapter two.

1.5.1: Chapter 2: The Research Panorama

Chapter two elaborates on the methodologies adopted for the purpose of the research. It expands upon the theoretical approach, discussing the notion of ‘form’ and considers alternative Marxist points of view. The various methods of data collection from table 1 are discussed in detail. The method of inquiry is therefore presented prior to the interpretation of the inquiry itself.

1.5.2: Chapter 3: Pursuing a Marxist Understanding of Charity Retailing

This chapter presents and discusses the theoretical grounding of the research. It begins by questioning how charity retailing can be understood and considers Marxist theory in detail. The circuit of capital and the value form are discussed, including labour power, commodification and the process of fetishisation. Relations of property and rent are also considered. It is this theory which pervades the body of the research.

The penultimate section of the chapter presents an interpretation of charity, as a mode of redistribution rather than transformation.

1.5.3: Chapter 4: The Antagonistic Space of the Charity Retailer

Moving on from the conceptualisation of charity and the grounding concepts, the notion of the volunteer and the action of volunteering is conceptualised. What is a volunteer? How can the space of the volunteer, the space of charity be understood? The space of the charity retailer is discussed as a spectacular space of consumption and theories of space are discussed. A critique of Lefebvre's spatial triad and Foucault's heterotopia are included in this chapter prior to a discussion of the urban form. This considers the literature related to the uneven urban geography of capitalism.

1.5.4: Chapter 5: The Contradictory (Re)constitution of Charity Retailing

Chapter five begins by examining the historical development of the charity retailer, concomitant to the reproduction of the state form and comments on how the charity retailer became entrenched in processes of capital accumulation. The history of the charity retailer reflects that of capital, consistently moving and changing. As a window into the charity retailing form today, the evolution of a present day charity retailer (2008-2011) is documented. The relationship between the charity retailer and commercial companies is also explored. The latter half of the chapter relates to the labour processes within charity retailers, with information gleaned from questionnaires and interviews informing the conceptualisation. The evolution of the charity retailing form is considered with respect to the evolution of the volunteer and management (labour) relations.

1.5.5: Chapter 6: The Charity City

The case study research finds expression in the particular discussion of charity retailers in the city of Edinburgh. The chapter is primarily concerned with how the spatialisation of the charity retailer is manifested in Edinburgh's urban form. An overview of the city is included, as are interview informed discussions of the property relation and the Edinburgh 'charity map'. Chapter six is the culmination of the concrete analysis, directly related to data collection.

1.5.6: Going Beyond...

Going beyond is....transcendence? Change? Negativity? Struggle? Charity retail? Volunteering? Labour processes? Commodities? The fetish?A rethinking?

This chapter summarises and draws together the research, reassessing the guiding research question and revisiting the objectives. As critique, the research process itself is reflected upon, in the context of its challenges and successes, future research is considered and self-critique discussed. The chapter is not a conclusion, but a going beyond, a surpassing of the existing interpretations of the charity retailing form, not something definite or conclusive, but the start of more questions and a more expansive conceptualisation.

Chapter 2: The Research Panorama

A Discussion of the Conceptual and Empirical Methodology

2.1: The Research Process

This chapter clarifies how integrated research processes were adopted throughout this enquiry in response to the research statement and objectives. It aims to '*document the rationale behind...research design and data analysis*' (Silverman, 2010; 333). This thesis represents an analysis of the charity retailer informed by the open Marxist approach. Marx comments on research methods, stating 'of course the method of presentation must differ in form from that of inquiry. The latter has to appropriate the material in detail, to analyse its different forms of development, to trace out their inner connexion. Only after this work is done, can the actual movement be adequately described' (1983: 28). The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the method of inquiry, beginning from the open Marxist theory and progressing to the data collection methods. The following chapters then detail the conceptual and analytical connexions related to the research question and objectives. The following research question (as introduced in Chapter 1) was adopted to address the central argument of the investigation and the questions arising from it:

'How can the research uncover and illustrate the contradictory form and reconstitution of the charity retailer within contemporary capitalist society at the beginning of the twenty first century?'

The research is instrumental in progressing towards representing the evolution and present day practices within the more marginal field of charity retail, while concomitantly enhancing and contributing to Marxist critical social theory. Such investigation is progressive and original, with the charity retailer being examined for the first time from an alternative perspective, thus transcending the existing literature by examining the social form reproducing this particular retail environment. The multi-faceted approach to data collection includes aspects of qualitative and quantitative data analysis, both conceptual and empirical, in line with Gunn (1987: 1) who emphasises that '...for theory, the undermining of common sense means that philosophy becomes separated from empirical enquiry, to the impoverishment of

both.’ Reality cannot be separated from theory; concepts cannot be separated from practice. Through such a ‘common sense’ approach an informed, progressive and critical understanding of the charity retailer reproducing today can be achieved. We now turn to open Marxist theory.

2.2: Theory in and of Practice

‘Marxism is a revolutionary theory, which inherently unites theory and practice. The politics of Marxism thus consist necessarily of the unity of critique and destruction, denunciation and decomposition, demystification and destabilisation’ (Bonefeld, 1987: 34).

Bonefeld introduces us to the open Marxist research approach. It is negative, opposing, denouncing, destroying and destabilising. Open Marxism is a flexible, open and fluid discourse, recognising the form of social relations, reuniting theory and practice. The theory adopted is one ‘in and of’ practice, as each exist ‘in and of’ each other. The conceptual detail, whilst intrinsic in each research element, is primarily detailed within the conceptual development (chapters **3-5**), and the analysis (chapters **4-7**). However, the theory is woven throughout the entire body of the thesis, it flows through each chapter. This section of the research methodology seeks to introduce and justify the conceptual grounding for the investigation.

Open Marxism is an approach which demonstrates the interconnectedness yet contradictory reproduction of capitalist society, from a wholly inclusive perspective. It has been adopted as a relational method, one which transcends preconceptions regarding the charity retailer, moving beyond the descriptive to an analysis of form, investigating the practices which reproduce the charity retailer. How then can this idea of ‘form’ be understood, what is ‘form’?

‘Marxism is negative, the theoretical articulation of the NO. Negativity is not a theoretical adornment, a direction given externally to the analysis of society: the whole conceptual structure of Marxism is negative. Capitalism is seen through negative glasses, from the standpoint of its negation. Conceptually, this negativity is expressed through the category of form’ (Holloway, 1993: 18). Form is not something which can be easily defined, but it permeates society, infiltrating capitalist

reproduction, opposing it, questioning and negating. A '*form* of something can be construed as its *mode of existence*, whether this "something" be abstract or concrete and whether (respectively) its form be abstract or concrete' (Gunn, 1992: 20). Just as theory is practice, the abstract is concrete and vice versa. In the capitalist mode of reproduction 'social relations, relations between people are fluid, unpredictable, unstable, often passionate, but they rigidify into certain forms, forms which appear to acquire their own autonomy, their own dynamic, forms which are crucial for the stability of society' (Holloway, 1994: 27).

Capitalism is all about appearances, the appearance of continuity and stability. In reality however, there is a constant need for the reconstitution of the capitalist mode of production, the continuity of capital is a continuity of crisis, as 'the causes of crisis are the causes of development; they are intrinsically necessary to capitalist development' (Bologna, 1993: 39). Through the crises of capitalism, there is an 'opportunity, an "opening" suggestive of a new society,' (Bologna, 1993: 39), a new society which negates the capitalist relations of reproduction. Form struggles. Just as the capitalist mode of production was imposed historically (see chapter 3) and struggles to reconstitute (in and through the experience of crises), form is an action against this imposition. 'Social form is not some rigid structure...but a process of (de/re)forming social relations and hence of struggle' (Kerr, 2006: 6). This social experience of struggle is 'a refusal of where we are and what we are: we are in-and-against, against-and-in...the struggle in-and-against must become a moving against-and-beyond,' (Holloway, 2005: 39), a movement which subverts and transcends the capitalist mode of reproduction.

The open Marxist theory overcomes divisions which are imposed by alternative research approaches such as positivism and structuralist Marxism, recognising that the becoming in the present and the future is continually changing and inherently related to the past. The perspective examines the constant and uncertain reconstituting of capitalism, due to its fragility and the consistent need to impose the value form and wage-labour relationships. There can be neither a pure form of society, nor the charity retailer within it. The open Marxist perspective is one which '...is susceptible of introducing a significant difference in the field of knowledge...with, however, the eventual recompense of a certain pleasure, that is to say access to another figure of

truth' (Foucault, 1994: 367). In this case, a truth specifically related to the charity retailer, one markedly different from the precedent literature.

Marxist theories stimulated much philosophical debate in the latter half of the Twentieth century. In particular structuralist Marxism dominated until the 1970s and was promoted by thinkers such as Althusser, who expanded upon the 1950s concept of a 'base/superstructure' paradigm, which conjures up theories related to ontology and epistemology, with the economy the base around which the superstructure develops. Althusser suggested that although such structures existed, each (i.e. the economic base and political superstructure) could maintain a level of autonomy from the other. Structuralist Marxist thinking creates and imposes divisions within society, it categorises practices into specific arenas, separates theory from practice, externalises crises and identifies the class relation 'as a dysfunctionality of structures' (Bonefeld, 1987: 34). It enforces separation. It has provoked critical responses, it is 'murderous....imposing over-easy, deadening classifications on the past and over-easy, killing classifications on the future' (Holloway, 1993: 76). Callinicos suggests that the 'great error of mainstream, "scientistic" Marxism was to take capitalism on its own, fetishised terms and analyse it as a totality of structures governed by objective laws' (2005: 18). Open Marxism, is freedom from categories, a 'struggle against the totality that defines its being is, then, to liberate individuals from "classification"' (Arthur, 2005: 215). Form defies boundaries, recognises the intricacies of social reproduction, and struggles against capital, demolishing notions of imposed structures.

This negative, struggling, 'open' Marxism emerged in the 1970s, opposing the closed structuralist notions, embracing the fluidity and instability of social relations. It is '...dynamically open in order to add to the critique of political economy new social phenomena...and is founded on, the principal of doubt...it reclaims the incompleteness of the process of thinking' (Bonefeld, 1987: 36). Elements within society such as the state, the built environment, class and labour, are therefore each represented as interconnected relations rife with antagonisms and contradictions: the abstract is concrete, capital is labour, the general is the particular, theory is practice and vice versa. Due to the fluid nature of society, it cannot be viewed or critiqued as a totality, as it is never in stasis. Marx offers the grounding analogy that, '...the present society is

no solid crystal, but an organism capable of change, and is constantly changing' (Marx, 1974: 21).

Structuralist Marxism is a closed approach, it doesn't consider how social relations take different forms and that these forms are complexly interrelated. The charity retailer represents a cacophony of contradictory relations and the research does not want to compartmentalise these relations, as this would be akin to rejecting the interconnectedness within these practices. The economy is recognised as having a significant effect on the reproduction of charity retailers; however, it is not offered dominance when investigating the multitude of nuances with the charity retail sector, which is abundantly linked to other, intrinsic practices in society. Open Marxism allows for the recognition of crisis as an internal dynamic within capitalism. It reunites theory with practice, as one cannot be considered independently of the other, they are one and the same. This theory 'in and of' practice seeks to avoid meta-narratives and meta-theory, the research asks questions but does not seek to provide absolute, conclusive answers, as there can be no absolutes. The resulting research is representative of the charity retailer within a limited timescale and a specific location (2006-2011, the UK & Edinburgh); hence theories of universal application are inconceivable. Although this research is providing a critical, conceptually informed analysis of the form of the charity retailers, it is acknowledged that it cannot answer all questions, or address every nuance in the retail form being investigated. It is not possible to critique every aspect of society relative to charity retailing. This thesis is merely part of the process of research, a step in the direction of accumulating understanding. It is a beginning to the process of understanding the antagonistic charity retailing form by asking questions, it is a dive into the murky world of capitalist reproduction.

The investigation of charity retailers also contains an element of practical reflexivity in analyses, critically assessing '...the question of the practical and social constitution of the terms which it employs' (Gunn, 1987: 44). This provides the open Marxist with the basis for reflection on reasoning, terminology and practices within the research, by continually questioning their personal approach and avoiding stagnation. It is only 'continuous, unconditional, self-reflective criticism [that] provides a navigational path between barbarism and enlightenment' (Tinker, 2005: 1). The need for reflexivity is

especially important when considering the methods used and their interpretation. The open Marxist approach towards charity retailing aims to exemplify theory 'in and of' practice, by being open, dynamic and practically reflexive.

As Malpas and Wake (2006: ix) note, '...theoretical writing...engages with questions, ideas and issues that are crucial to our experience of identity, culture and society', and it is such experiences that are considered from an open Marxist perspective. Marx states '...the essence of man is no abstraction inherent in each single individual. In its reality it is the ensemble of the social relations' (Marx, 1998: 570), and this understanding is central to the analysis of charity retailing. Charity retailing reflects the cultural, political, environmental and economic aspects of today's society, which have resulted in the creation of the charity retailing form and its ongoing reproduction within capitalist society. Open Marxism presents the potential for critical analysis within charity retailing when considering the various elements reproducing it as a social form and those relative to its existence as a retailer. The central arguments and key factors (wage-labour relationship, the value form, the commodity, consumption, the class relation, alienation, fetishisation and separation) to the open Marxist paradigm are presented and developed throughout the body of the thesis. The following chapter (chapter 3) provides a detailed reflection on the writings of Marx and their interpretation relative to the charity retailer.

2.3: The Empirical Process

The collation of data responses represent the experiential research elements of this study, which is undertaken primarily in a qualitative manner, with a level of quantitative statistical analysis performed on the information collected. 'The fact that simple quantitative measures are a feature of some good qualitative research shows that the whole 'qualitative/quantitative' dichotomy is open to question,' (Silverman, 2010; 13) and can be complementary methods. The research attempts to utilise corresponding approaches that were deemed most appropriate to fulfil the study. This section of the research methodology discusses each of the approaches utilised, how and why different cases were selected and the eventual collation and analysis of the accumulated results. As with the conceptual point of view, the empirical methods are also evolving interrelated processes within the time scale of the research period,

compiled to ensure maximum interaction and cross-interpretation within the collected data. The research collates to provide a dataset, which is understood as ‘...an integration of both first-hand empirical investigation and the theoretical and comparative interpretation of social organisation and culture’ (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007: 1). Each method adopted is considered from the perspective of open Marxism. The role of the researcher is also examined and evaluated (as per practical reflexivity), with regard to the author’s personal position within the charity retailing form as well as the trials and tribulations of undertaking PhD research. As an investigative *bricoleur*, various qualitative research approaches have been adopted in order to compile as comprehensive a data set as possible while communicating and interpreting the charity retailer, culminating in inductive analysis in and through theory grounded in practice.

2.3.1: Qualitative Methods, Research Alternatives & Limitations

Qualitative research was deemed to be the most appropriate methodological approach relative to the study of charity retailing. With respect to the open Marxist theory adopted, the qualitative perspective is complementary to the conceptual analysis, due to the complementary nature of their *modus operandi*:

‘Inquiry methodology can no longer be treated as a set of universally applicable rules or abstractions. Methodology is inevitably interwoven with and emerges from the nature of particular disciplines (such as sociology and psychology) and particular perspectives (such as Marxism, feminist theory and queer theory).’ (Guba & Lincoln, 2005: 191-2).

‘The field of qualitative research is defined primarily by a series of essential tensions, contradictions and hesitations...constant breaks and ruptures...all events and understandings are mediated and made real through interactional and material practices, through discourse, conversation, writing and narrative.’ (Lincoln & Denzin, 2005: xi-xvi).

Such quotes emphasise the openness of qualitative research and demonstrate that there is a myriad of interpretations which are continually in flux, indeed the success of qualitative research ‘cannot be determined by following prescribed formulae. Rather

its quality lies in the power of its language to display a picture of the world in which we discover something about ourselves and our common humanity' (Buchanan, 1992; 133). However, within the qualitative method in respect to this body of work, it has proved necessary to categorise and classify to an extent, but such classifications are viewed as never closed and infinitely changeable. They are categories of constant crisis and struggle and like the practices within society are continually deforming and reforming. Categories are deduced following analysis of the data and key findings are discussed in the later analytical chapters (chapters 5 and 6).

Limitations next to time were also present throughout both the conceptual (providing a critical theory in and of charity retailing) and empirical (varied data collection) research. The financial realities of the study presented boundaries in obtaining overly costly data and preventing excessive travel, contributing to the prohibition of considering and comparing several different locations. However this research encourages the development of future objectives for investigation. Through the present research a deeper more comprehensive understanding of the charity retailer in the United Kingdom is achieved, providing a thorough grounding for the development of further research investigations. Conceptual critique will be limited and therefore certain points of view will have to be assumed and only certain literature drawn upon in the course of the chapters.

In adopting a primarily qualitative based, but empirically influenced methodology, the multifaceted approaches utilised provide the potential for movement from the general (through UK wide questionnaire distribution) to the more detailed, location specific results gleaned through the Edinburgh case study and interviews. However, each aspect of the research is both general and particular; everything in society is particular and general. Interconnectedness abounds. The research evolved organically with the initial review of the participant observation research combined with the results from the secondary sources and desk research providing indicators of the pressing key issues to investigate throughout the charity retail sector. These experiences then influenced the formulation of the questionnaires. The resultant questionnaires were piloted through the charity retailer where participant observation was being carried out, then reassessed. The questionnaires first found expression through the website, www.charityshopforum.co.uk, which was created to examine the use of the internet as

a rapidly developing modern research method (McKie, 1997; Hewson et al, 2003; & Hine, 2005). Several months after the website launch, paper questionnaires were distributed to charity retailers across the United Kingdom, to a variety of urban and rural areas. Each area and the responses received from them are detailed in a later table (see sections **2.3.9**, tables **3-6**). In addition to the questionnaires available on the website, there was a forum for discussion, research information and contact details and also a poll, which incorporated 25 questions with yes/no answers available only (see section **2.4**). Responses from the internet and paper questionnaires were then systematically compiled and analysed, with any prevalent themes and dominant patterns identified, which contributed positively to the creation of the interview questions for the Edinburgh specific case study. Interviews were determined to be conducted in a semi-structured manner to allow for engagement with the subject in the form of an open discussion, letting the interviewee contribute opinions and experiences relevant to charity retailing, potentially introducing aspects of the research which were not considered up to that point. In amassing the results from each of the research methodologies adopted, the research analysis could then proceed. Each of these particular methodologies (qualitative and quantitative) can now be discussed comprehensively, following the next sub-section on ethics, and are ordered concomitant to how they were experienced in the course of the research period, as discernible from **Table 1**.

2.3.2: Ethical Considerations.

When pursuing research, attention must be given to ensuring the participants are aware that the research is ethical and approved. Every attempt was made to check that the research was well founded. Information was processed as per the guidelines from the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) and Data Protection Act (1998). Ethical approval is essential for the protection of the participants and 'when you successfully obtain ethical approval for your research, you accomplish two things. First you have benefited from the advice of at least one academic trained to detect any potential flaws in your research design...Second, when you assure your research participants that your study has been approved by a university...you earn their confidence that you are a trained researcher with the backing of a legitimate academic institution. This could help you establish rapport and address any reservations people

might have about answering your questions' (Silverman, 2010: 154). Prior to engaging with participants the research process was discussed with and approved by my supervisor and the ethical protocol (see appendix 1) was compiled to remain consistent with the following six key principles for research ethics, provided by the ESRC.

- '1. Research should be designed, reviewed and undertaken to ensure integrity, quality and transparency.
2. Research staff and participants must normally be informed fully about the purpose, methods and intended possible uses of the research, what their participation in the research entails.
3. The confidentiality of information supplied by research participants and the anonymity of respondents must be respected.
4. Research participants must take part voluntarily, free from any coercion.
5. Harm to research participants must be avoided in all instances.
6. The independence of research must be clear, and any conflicts of interest of partiality must be explicit'.¹

2.3.3: Participant Observation

The first aspect of the research methodology to be undertaken was that of participant observation, which '...leads to an empathic understanding of a social scene' (May 1993: 114) and indicates active involvement within the chosen research area of the charity retailer. However May also notes that '...participant observation is the most personally demanding and analytically difficult method of social research to undertake' (1993: 116), therefore this process of enquiry was always considered in conjunction with other methods, never in isolation. In view of the fact that only one charity, therefore one charity retailer, was focused on in this particular component of the research, it is noted that a very different experience could have been had with a different charity. Had participant observation been the only method utilised the results would have been limited, failing to account for alternative practices in different

¹ http://www.esrc.ac.uk/_images/Framework_for_Research_Ethics_tcm8-4586.pdf

charity retailers. This scenario was allayed through the postal distribution of questionnaires to a multitude of different charity retailers.

The author became immersed in the day to day operation of one particular charity retailer in Edinburgh for 5-8 hours per week over a period of over two years and prior to this had no personal experience or preconceptions of charity retailing, other than as a patron.

The chosen charity retailer was located along a key arterial route in Edinburgh's city centre and was chosen for several reasons.

1. When considering in which charity retailer to volunteer, the chosen shop presented a particularly interesting research opportunity as it was a new retail venture for the charity. This meant that the charity retailer was observed from its infancy and the development and changes within the shop were observed, a situation which would obviously not have been possible with a more established charity retail outlet. This supplementary element of accessing the charity retailer from its opening, through its evolution to its present position as an established member of the parent charity's retail portfolio enhanced the observation experience and presented the researcher with interesting narratives for analysis.
2. The chosen charity retailer was in an atypical location for a charity retailer, therefore potentially offering further factors for analysis. This decision does not imply that the chosen charity retailer fails to exhibit similar traits to other charity retailers, only that the reflection was enriched. (More detail on the locational distribution of charity retailers in Edinburgh can be found in chapter 6).
3. The parent charity of the particular retail outlet is a dominant constituent of the charity and charity retailing sector presently active in the UK. A highly influential charity was intentionally chosen. The reasons for this choice were to ensure the analysis would reflect upon a charity which had experienced high levels of development and transformation. Also, within this charity retailer was the latent possibility that the social relations apparent in the

reproduction of the charity retailer would be established and dynamic, firstly regarding management in the first months of opening and later, relative to the staff and volunteers.

4. Deciding on a modern, professional charity retailer with a recognised and renowned parent charity was imperative for the subsequent case study research, in considering the locational characteristics of the charity retailer. Accounting for the spatial aspect of the research, it was desirable to be involved with charity which had substantial property assets. Indeed, following its opening, the chosen store was identified as a potential flagship store for the charity in Scotland. The charity retailer chosen was part of a progressive system for acquiring and utilising retail outlets within an active property portfolio.

When this specific charity retailer was identified, the manager of the shop was approached (in person) and apprised of the motivations of the researcher. Following discussion relating to the research, she (see section **2.5.1**, all respondents are to be referred to as female) asserted that they would be fully supportive of the investigation and help in any way possible. In addition to the manager's acquiescence, my dual-purpose as a researcher and volunteer was made common knowledge throughout the volunteering body within the charity retailer.

During the early stages, the participant observation was carried out at different times and days each week, to enable interaction with the morning and afternoon shifts and those during the week and at weekend. The morning shifts typically run from 9.30am-1.30pm and the afternoon shifts from 1.30-5.30pm. A fieldwork diary was compiled throughout the research period, primarily detailing the key contextual aspects of relevance from the shift, with any particular instances of interest recorded in a more comprehensive narrative style. Examples of these incidences can be found as independent narrative vignettes colouring the analysis. In total, throughout the 33 months (4 hours a week, 16 hours a month on average) of participant observation research conducted, time spent within the charity retail environment amounted to over 500 hours.

Although this element of the research was considered with an open mind, remaining unbiased was not possible, as due to the approach adopted, the research was already coloured by the Marxist perspective. The charity retailer is a richly contradictory, subjective space, where different opinions abound and issues are particularly challenging to personal beliefs. Due to the key social issues addressed by the charity retailer and parent charity, this did not come as a surprise, indeed it would have been a greater concern had those within the retailing environment not demonstrated some level of passion for the cause with which they were volunteering. However, this did vary substantially. Considering the situation within the charity retailer is a socially constructed reality it can be understood in context through continued engagement with the volunteers and staff present. The view of Hammersley and Atkinson is assumed: 'The fact that behaviour and attitudes are often not stable across contexts and that the researcher may influence the context becomes central to the analysis. Indeed, it can be exploited for all its worth' (2007: 17). In consistently conversing with the people present in the charity retail environment and picking up on various comments, there was no element of coercion present. However, when the circumstances seemed open for deeper discussion, an appropriate element of suggestion was introduced in order to continue the dialogue and encourage responses. Many volunteers did not need encouragement to express their views. It was essential to remain conscious of my own 'voice', and the increased knowledge of people's character over time helped to understand when to leave a subject closed and when to question further.

Throughout the research period the position as a PhD student was not concealed, but was rather a topic which was frequently discussed, as many of the volunteers showed an active and ongoing interest in its progress. There was no animosity displayed towards the author and it seemed to be assumed that my presence was there primarily as a volunteer, a position which was whole heartedly embraced. This situation was advantageous as my acceptance proved to ease access into documentation, personal opinions and in securing interview participants. Indeed, during the time spent in participant observation, the managers who led the retail team have been helpful in the extreme, candid, forthright, and almost more inclined to

share pertinent details relative to the shop, as they were aware of my research interest.

The research method of participant observation was successfully implemented to ascertain the nuances present in the daily reproduction of the charity retailer from an inclusive perspective. Through participant observation a myriad of social relations has been discovered (see chapters 5 and 6).

2.3.4: Questionnaire Design & Distribution

In response to the participant observation and the continued desk research, the central issues relevant to the charity retailer were constructed into questionnaires to develop the research further. When considering the different perspectives of actors within the social relations of the charity retailer, it was concluded that a variety of questionnaires would need to be constructed to ensure maximum success by making them relative to the experiences and involvement of different people.

There is a need to account for the criticism levied towards the use of questionnaires for interpretation of a research situation, which includes:

- The ability for the respondent to create a perfect or acceptable response over time thus presenting an affected view of the research 'reality'.
- The limited amount of data which can be collected from a questionnaire response.
- The potential for confusion regarding the questions and their interpretation, as when distributed, the researcher is unable to clarify.
- The exclusion of certain research participants who are unable to complete the questionnaires due to illiteracy, disability or age.
- The use of set questions indicates that the respondent is only likely to answer what is required and nothing further, even if they have other opinions and experiences relative to the research situation being analysed.
- There is no guarantee that the responses received will be honest or accurate, there is too much of a trust element to this form of research collection.

To counteract these issues several methods were considered when creating the questionnaires. Through careful question construction and a pilot study, any ambiguities with questions were eliminated and the data to be collected was chosen from the results of the participant observation and desk research, to integrate the key issues and engage with the respondent. Upon reflection however, this does not necessarily mean that if the research was to be conducted again the content of the questionnaires and their format would remain constant. With hindsight, it is easy to observe that certain questions proved problematic as their meaning was misconstrued or the response inadequate to the point of being irrelevant. In compiling the questionnaires the following points were considered:

‘The best surveys have these features:

- Specific objectives
- Straightforward questions
- Sound research design
- Sound choice of population or sample
- Reliable and valid survey instruments
- Appropriate analysis
- Accurate reporting of survey results
- Reasonable resources’ (Fink, 1995; 5).

A mixture of questions were utilised to prevent the questionnaire seeming heavy and daunting, yet still engaging. Regarding question design, closed questions for expected shorter answers and more open questions with a larger space left for responses to allow for elaboration if desired. In addition to these, there were several tick box questions incorporating a Likert scale (‘the form of scaling most often seen on questionnaires and instruments used in research’ [Punch; 91]) to help speed up the process of questionnaire completion and to allow for an element of quantitative assessment of patterns and opinions. The range on the Likert scale ranged from ‘strongly agree’, ‘agree’, ‘neither agree nor disagree’, ‘disagree’ and ‘strongly disagree’. The questionnaires were to be entirely anonymous and more sensitive demographic information was included at the end of the questionnaires to conclude, therefore there was no reason for participants to be dishonest and misrepresent themselves. This also allowed each respondent to become comfortable and at ease with the questionnaire

during its completion and therefore more likely to provide sensitive demographic information. Due to the manner of questionnaire distribution it was possible for those affected by health, age or illiteracy, to dictate their responses to a scribe.

Following the questionnaire construction a significant amount of time was devoted to compiling information regarding how they should be disseminated to various charity retailers and where. After contacting various charity retailers by phone, it became obvious that many would be unwilling to complete questionnaires without prior permission from head office. However, it was decided not to follow this course of action. The primary reason for this was that if the questionnaires were distributed through each charity's head quarters, the responses would be tend to be more skewed towards positivity regarding each parent charity and that frank responses may be diluted or indeed evaded entirely. Therefore, a cover letter was drafted (see appendix 1) and included in each envelope to inform the charity retail manager of the research purpose. The letter included contact details for the university, information about how long the questionnaires should take to complete and a reinforcement that respondents were guaranteed anonymity. A link was also provided to the research website, through which further contact could be made if the respondent wished to contribute further or engage in discussion via email. The questionnaires and cover letters were each cleared by a research supervisor prior to their implementation.

In deciding on the most effective and efficient way to disseminate the questionnaires, the postal method was chosen as address information was available from websites of the parent charities but predominantly the information was gleaned through the yellow pages online, at www.yell.com. Utilising this method the sample size was potentially enormous and for the purpose of the research, considering the limitations, it had to be limited. Therefore, to allow for responses from across the United Kingdom, charity retailers were chosen from both urban and rural areas, concentrating on the urban areas (to increase distribution due to the higher concentration of charity retailers in larger towns and cities) but randomly choosing rural locations in Northern Ireland and Scotland. There was no specific reason behind why these two countries rural areas were chosen over any in England or Wales.

In order to increase response rates rather than only distributing the questionnaires with an accompanying cover letter, phone calls were made to each of the charity retailers in Northern Ireland and Scotland, to add a personal dimension to the data collection. As this was a time consuming procedure, the phone calls were limited to these two countries. If the management agreed to complete the questionnaires, rather than a fully explanatory letter a compliments slip was distributed instead, addressed directly to the manager. The management were fully briefed during the phone conversation and were able to suggest how many questionnaires they could realistically get completed in their charity retailer, which was useful to know prior to printing. Those charity retailers who were not contacted by phone prior to questionnaire distribution were typically sent two questionnaires for the management and two for the volunteers (these were colour coded to allow for easy distinction between the two). The questionnaires were then printed and arranged into the addressed envelopes, including either the letter or compliment slip, some of the fliers from the website and a self addressed return to sender envelope.

The content of the four different questionnaires constructed are outlined below and examples can be consulted in appendix 1.

2.3.5: Questionnaire for Paid Employees in the Charity Retail Sector

The questionnaire for paid employees were understandably the most lengthy and detailed of the four created, as it examined management issues in depth. The questionnaire was structured in a specific way in an attempt to ensure the full attention of the respondent was achieved, by using a mixture of question types throughout the body of the questionnaire. The themes used and the issues each section addresses are outlined overleaf, in the order they appeared in the questionnaire.

Table 2: Themes of Management Questionnaire

Theme.	Issues Addressed.
<u>General Information.</u>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Charity represented. Retail Location. • Position. Length of time in position. Hours worked- does salary reflect contribution? • History of employment in sector, how involvement began? • Aspirations to move job within sector / leave sector?
<u>Personal Reflections & Experiences.</u>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Employment met/fallen short of expectations? • Level of job satisfaction. • Team dynamics & management structure. • Recurring problems? • Positive / Negative experiences with- customers, volunteers, colleagues. Noteworthy experiences. • Donate & purchase from shop? Support other charities? • Charity retailers important in society? Recycling & reusing. • Knowledge of rates relief and regulations. • Idea of charity as a business.
<u>Tick-Box Questions.</u>	<p>Six different themes were considered through tick box questions, and the respondents could reply to statements on a scale ranging from agree-disagree:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consideration of Key Statements e.g. 'Theft is a problem', 'Internal fraud is a dominant issue', 'Charity shops are more competitive with other charity shops' & 'Volunteer numbers are insufficient'. 9 statements. • Reasons for the Continued Success of Charity Shops e.g. 'Increased awareness of poverty & natural disasters- Concern for global and national welfare', 'The effect of media and

	<p>marketing', 'The interiors & presentation within charity shops today' & 'Society has become more generous.' 12 statements.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Staff structuring e.g. 'The introduction of paid managers is hugely positive', 'Paid staff should be introduced' & 'There should not be a complete reliance upon volunteers.' 6 statements. • Changes to Stock Preparation and Presentation e.g. 'Standardised decor and shop fittings across the charity is a positive development', 'Pricing has been successfully standardised' & 'Offering new goods for sale has been a success.' 5 statements. • Changes in Management & Financial Issues e.g. 'Performance based appraisals for paid staff are essential', 'Many of the targets set by management are unrealistic' & 'Volunteers should receive more recognition within the charity.' 7 statements. • Decision making at Head Office Level e.g. 'Too many decisions are made by head office without branch managers' consultation', 'I feel constrained by head office rules' & 'Those who make decisions at head office level have little experience of shop level operations'. 7 statements.
<u>Demographic Information.</u>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sex, Age, Personal Annual Income, Permanent home. • Qualifications & Occupational information. • Marital status & information regarding dependants. • 8 requests for information in total.

The questionnaire was structured in this manner to allow for direct and purely informational questions first in order to ease the respondent into to answering and not deter them at the outset. The reflective questions allowed for more thorough responses considering the respondents personal experiences and knowledge of the sector. These questions also allowed for the respondent to introduce fresh issues and ideas which had not been accounted for in the research up to that point. As can be observed from **Table 2** numerous different perspectives were examined through the tick-box questions which allowed the respondent to express their view on each statement quickly and efficiently. It was deemed essential to ensure that the questionnaires would take up as little time as possible, while covering a wealth of subjects relative to the charity retailer. Following the pilot study it was estimated that

this particular questionnaire would take between 15-20 minutes to complete. The section on demographic information was left to the end in the hope that respondents who had engaged with the questionnaire would willingly divulge sensitive information. Another reason for assuring anonymity in the questionnaires was to encourage respondents to communicate this data.

These questionnaires were available to complete on the website and 1842 copies were also distributed to 943 different charity retailers across the UK, with a cover letter and return self addressed envelope. The particular responses from each town and city are detailed in table form in section **2.3.9**, table **3**.

2.3.6: Questionnaire for Volunteers in the Charity Retail Sector

Many of the same questions asked in the questionnaire for paid employees were repeated in the one designed for volunteers; however the questionnaire was a shorter length, as certain questions were management specific. Similar themes were included, including demographic information and personal reflections. The demographic information requested was reduced and only requested sex, age, personal annual income, occupational information and location. The volunteer questionnaire contained only one tick-box response question in response to 12 statements which were exactly the same as the 'Reasons for the continued success of charity shops' included in the paid employees' questionnaire. The general information questions still included information regarding the charity, location and number of hours worked weekly, but also considers:

- The definition of 'volunteer'.
- How and why the parent charity/retailer was chosen.
- How and why the respondent became involved in volunteering.

The personal reflections were also added to with further volunteer relevant questions regarding tasks performed in the retail environment, the location of the retailer, the proximity of the retailer to their home and if this is of importance, what would cause them to leave their position and also their opinions on standardisation within the sector.

The volunteer questionnaires were also distributed throughout the UK by post and were also available online. In total the 934 charity retailers received 2076 volunteer questionnaires, the tabulated responses can be found in section 2.3.9, table 4.

2.3.7: Questionnaire for People who DO donate/shop in Charity Retailers

Although the patrons and donors to charity retailers are an important consideration, the research is more concerned with the social relations and the systems involved within the reproduction of the retailer itself. Again this is another limitation, as there was insufficient time and funding to thoroughly examine the perspectives of those who do and do not donate/shop in charity retailers. For this reason both the questionnaires for those who do and do not donate/shop at charity retailers were only available through the website and were not distributed. However, fliers were created and distributed advertising the website and it was also communicated via e-mail. The layout of the flier can be seen below and overleaf, in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Charity Shop Forum Flier.





Although there was less concern about receiving responses, over 90 questionnaires from people across the UK were completed online by people who do donate/shop in charity retailers.

As with the questionnaire for volunteers, the only tick-box enquiry was 'Reasons for the continued success of charity shops' and the demographics requested also remained constant. The personal reflection section of this questionnaire covered issues such as:

- Definition of 'charity shop'.
- The frequency of the respondents' purchases from/donations to charity retailers, do they maintain loyalty to one in particular, is convenience of location important and what motivates them to make donations/purchases.
- Opinions on the specialisation and standardisation of charity retailers, their image and importance in the Twenty-first century. The charity retailer as a competitive retailer.
- If the respondent would ever consider becoming involved with a charity retailer and reasons behind their response.

Compared to both the questionnaires for paid staff and volunteers, this questionnaire was significantly shorter, yet still covered key issues.

2.3.8: Questionnaire for People who DO NOT donate/shop in Charity Retailers

The questionnaire for people who do not donate/shop in charity retailers was the shortest of the four questionnaires and sought to uncover the fundamental reasons for not considering charity retailing, either as a donor or customer. It included demographic information, as per the volunteer and do donate/shop questionnaires, some general information and personal reflection, with one tick-box response required. This questionnaire was made intentionally shorter as it was envisaged that people who did not use charity retailers were likely to have either few formed opinions or very strong opinions about this retailing form. Therefore, the questionnaire was not too large or daunting and suited to those with little opinion on the subject, but also provided sufficient response space for those who wished to communicate stronger opinions.

The reflective issues addressed comprised of:

- A definition of 'charity shop'.
- If the respondent had a negative opinion of charity retailers, if there are too many present on the high street, should the number of charity retailers be reduced and whether they provide unfair competition to other non-charity retailers.
- If and how the respondent could be encouraged to utilise charity retailers, what they do with goods which could be donated to charity retailers.

Obviously the tick-box question differed from those in the previous questionnaires, and suggested the different 'Reasons for Not Supporting Charity Shops'. Examples of the rationales suggested included the following:

- There is no need for charity shops.
- The respondent dislikes and is put off by the shop.
- Charity shops deprive other retailers of using the space and therefore providing employment.
- Don't want to purchase or use second hand merchandise.

- Charity was supported in different ways.
- The respondent has no tradition of using charity shops.
- Disagreement with where and how the revenue is distributed.

As aforementioned, this questionnaire was only made available through the website. As anticipated, the response rate for this questionnaire was not as high as for that of 'do donate/shop' as it seemed unlikely that a wealth of people would visit a website based around charity retailers and spend time completing a questionnaire on a retail form that they had no desire to engage with. However, in deciding on an appropriate website address (URL) for the online research, it was decided that it should plainly demonstrate its purpose and www.charityshopforum.co.uk was created. The decision promoted the website to paid members of staff, volunteers, patrons and donors, but was not likely to attract the attention of those who did not. When the pros and cons of the situation were weighted, it was clear that the questionnaire likely to suffer from diminished responses was that relative to people who 'do not donate/shop'.

Presently, there have been 25 replies accumulated in response to this online questionnaire.

2.3.9: Completed Questionnaires: A Table of Responses

Table 3: Postal Questionnaire Responses: Managers

City/Town	No. Shops Contacted	No. Questionnaires Sent	No. of responses	% Response: No. Sent	% Total Responses
Aberdeen	20	39	7	17.95	5.88
Ayr	13	26	0	0.00	0.00
Belfast	29	42	12	28.57	10.08
Berwick Upon Tweed	7	14	0	0.00	0.00
Birmingham	80	160	3	1.88	2.52
Cardiff	20	33	3	9.09	2.52
Edinburgh	97	181	24	13.26	20.17
Fort William	5	10	2	20.00	1.68
Galashiels	4	8	0	0.00	0.00
Glasgow	72	139	11	7.91	9.24
Inverness	7	12	3	25.00	2.52
Leeds	74	148	9	6.08	7.56
Liverpool	64	128	3	2.34	2.52
London	320	640	28	4.38	23.53
Manchester	85	170	5	2.94	4.20
Newcastle Upon Tyne	34	68	3	4.41	2.52
St Andrews	9	18	3	16.67	2.52
Wick	3	6	1	16.67	0.84
Website			2		1.68
Totals	943	1842	119		100.00

Table 4: Postal Questionnaire Responses: Volunteers

City/Town	No. Shops Contacted	No. Questionnaires Sent	Number of responses	% Response: No. Sent	% Total Responses
Aberdeen	20	83	11	13.25	4.60
Ayr	13	26	2	7.69	0.84
Belfast	29	72	20	27.78	8.37
Berwick Upon Tweed	7	14	0	0.00	0.00
Birmingham	80	160	3	1.88	1.26
Cardiff	20	98	22	22.45	9.21
Edinburgh	97	181	64	35.36	26.78
Fort William	5	10	1	10.00	0.42
Galashiels	4	8	0	0.00	0.00
Glasgow	72	206	19	9.22	7.95
Inverness	7	40	17	42.50	7.11
Leeds	74	148	15	10.14	6.28
Liverpool	64	128	5	3.91	2.09
London	320	640	35	5.47	14.64
Manchester	85	170	3	1.76	1.26
Newcastle Upon Tyne	34	68	5	7.35	2.09
St Andrews	9	18	4	22.22	1.67
Wick	3	6	2	33.33	0.84
Website			11		4.60
Totals	943	2076	239		100.00

Table 5: Total Postal Questionnaire Responses

Total Questionnaires Sent	3918	358	Overall Response Rate	9.14%
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Table 6: Total Responses Received

Total Completed Questionnaires	
Manager	119
Volunteer	239
Poll	219
Do not Donate/Shop (website only)	24
Do Donate/Shop (website only)	91
Total No. Responses	692

2.4: Web site Construction & 'Going Live'.

The website was chosen to assess the viability of an alternative research method, one which has progressed dramatically since the 1990s. It is intended to complement and enhance the research collected through participant observation, questionnaires and interviews and was constructed between December 2008 and March 2009, with the site 'going live' on the web in late March. As aforementioned in section **2.3.8** there was deliberation over the name and what it would represent, but www.charityshopforum.co.uk was decided upon as it was clear, concise and representative of the website and its contents.

As the author has limited technological skill, a forum on a discussion site was considered originally, but when it became more pertinent for the web to also include the questionnaires a web designer was consulted. Several brainstorming sessions later the key ideas for the site had been decided upon, something bold and bright, with an imposing main page, with clearly annotated links to the relevant questionnaires, author information and forum page. Each of these screens is illustrated overleaf through screenshots of the site.

Figure 2: Charity Shop Website Homepage

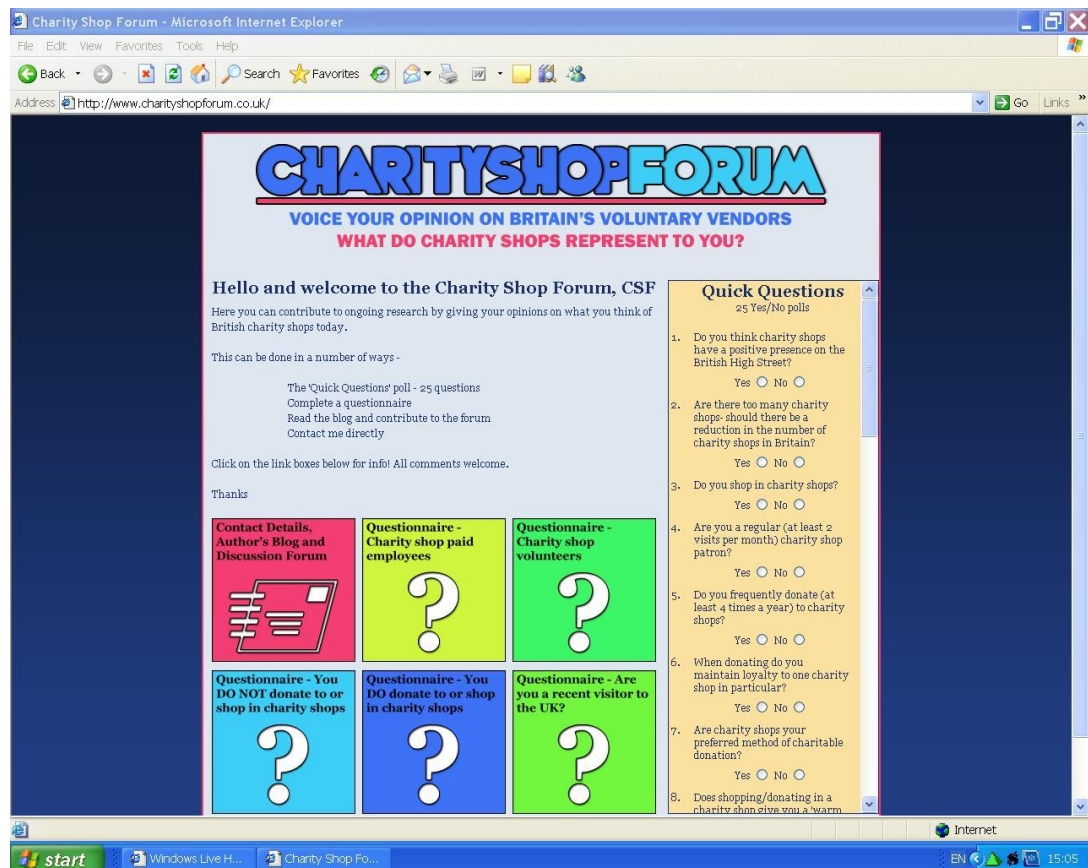


Figure 3: Author's Contact Details and Research Information

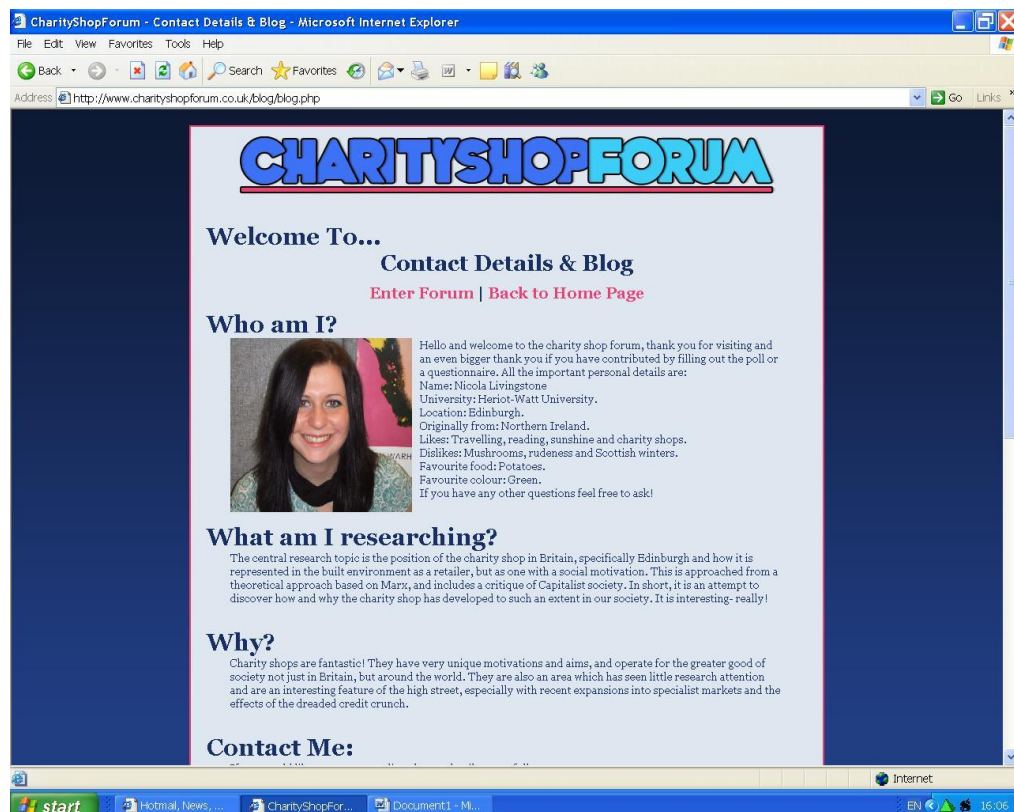


Figure 4: Charity Shop Forum Homepage

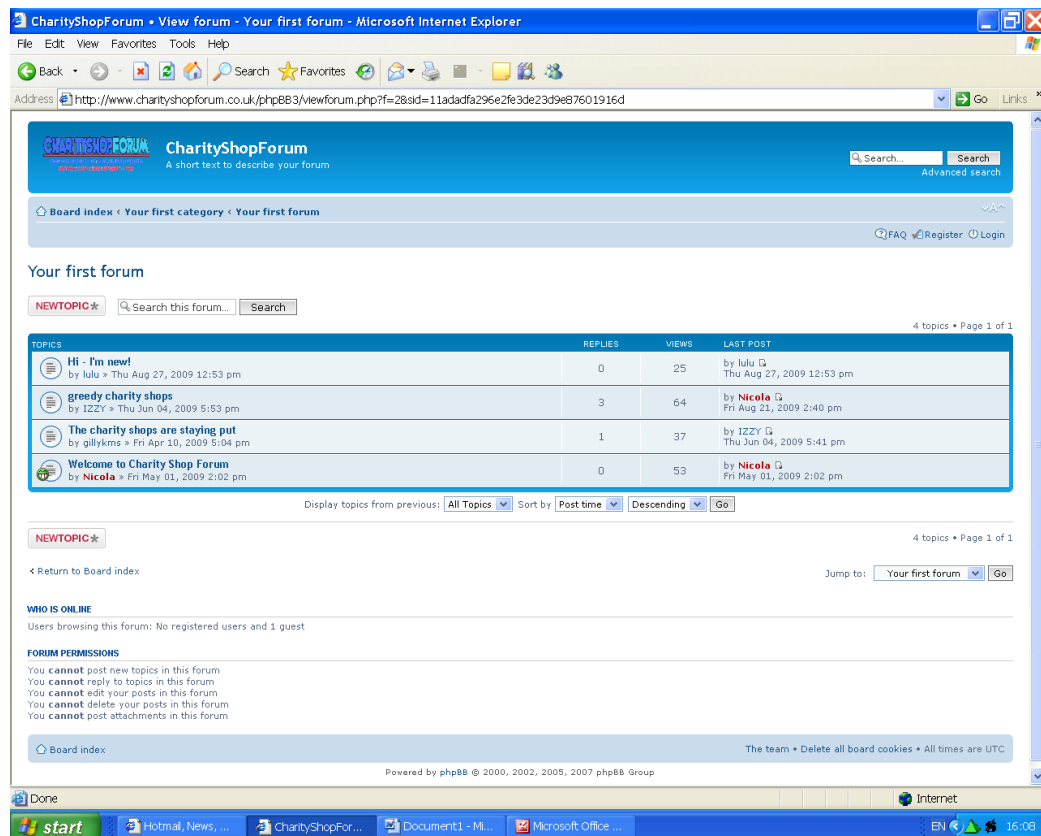
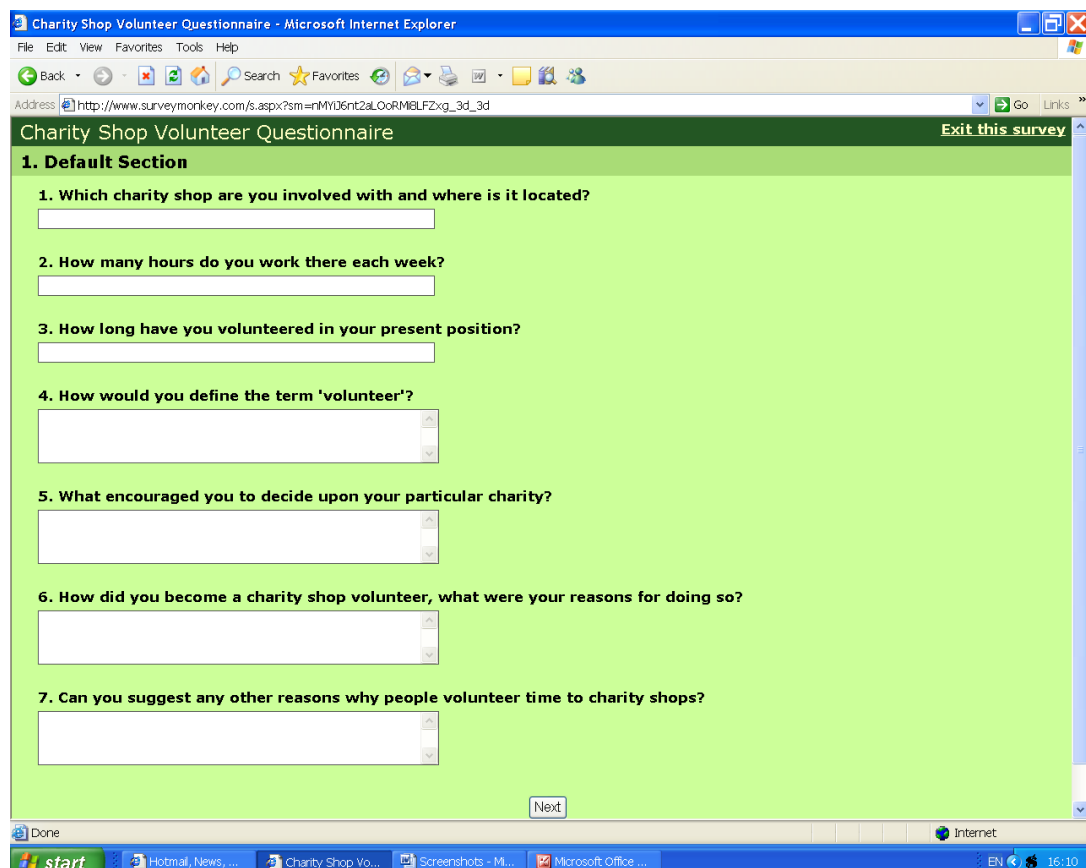


Figure 5: Survey Monkey Web Questionnaire



As it can be seen from the website homepage it contained links to 5 different questionnaires, one of which, for 'Visitors to the UK' has not been discussed as only 1 response was received from it and therefore it was deemed unsuccessful. The opinions of non-UK residents regarding charity retailers still remains a personal research interest, and again remains something to analyse in more depth in future research.

Also included was a web poll, of 25 yes/no questions (see appendix 1), which although responses can only be analysed quantitatively proved to receive most attention on the website, with over 200 responses received. As with the questionnaires, guidance from participant observation was used to formulate the questions.

Survey Monkey was chosen as the site through which to upload the questionnaires for numerous reasons:

- It is a well-respected website and is frequently used by researchers.
- The site was recommended personally by the web designer.
- The cost to set up and maintain is relatively low and sustainable for the research period (\$19.00 per month, approximately £12.50 for 12 months).
- The personal homepage on survey monkey offers the opportunity to browse, analyse and collate responses.
- Surveys can be added to and adjusted if deemed necessary.

2.5: The Case Study: Edinburgh

'The more that your questions seek to explain some present circumstance (e.g. "how" or "why" some social phenomenon works), the more that the case study method will be relevant. The method also is relevant the more that your questions require an extensive "in-depth" description of some social phenomenon' (Yin. 2009; 4).

Case study investigation was identified as an appropriate research method. The research hopes to shed light on the nuances of the charity retail form, offer an explanation of its development, and describe the social phenomenon of charity retailing within a city form. Case study research is "a logic of design...a strategy to be

preferred when circumstances and research problems are appropriate rather than an ideological commitment to be followed whatever the circumstances' (Platt, 1992; 46). The flexibility and adaptability of the case study approach complements the open Marxist theoretical approach adopted. Although much of the research is conceptual and abstract in its presentation, much of the analysis of the form of the charity retailer in Edinburgh is determined by the participant observation and interviews, elements of the case study itself. In respect to the Edinburgh case study research, 'the goal is *not* to produce a standardized set of results that any other careful researcher in the same situation or studying the same issue would have produced. Rather it is to produce a coherent and illuminating description of and perspective on a situation that is based on and consistent with detailed study of that situation' (Schofield, 2000; 71).

Edinburgh was chosen as the city for case study analysis. The city boasts an impressive number of charity retailers, providing an ideal background against which the research could be developed. At the last count, the city had 114 charity retailers for a population of almost half a million people. Table 7, below, illustrates the appropriateness of Edinburgh as the case study city, in comparison to the average figure for Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Table 7: Ratio of Population to Charity Retailers, a Comparison.

	Population (Mil).	No. 'Charity Retailers'	'Charity Retailer' Population Ratio
Edinburgh	0.468 ²	114 ³	1:4,106
Great Britain & N. Ireland	60.975 ⁴	5656 ⁵	1:10,781

As can be seen, Edinburgh has substantially more charity retailers per population than the national average. This may indicate that the charity retailing form in Edinburgh has developed in a particular, unique way. It may also indicate that the social form in Edinburgh has proved more receptive to the charity retailer, that the city is more

² General Register Office for Scotland, 2008

³ Changeworks, 2008

⁴ www.statistics.gov.uk

⁵ Charity Finance, 2007

'charitable', as such. These are questions that the research can address, but either way, the city is immanently suitable for research. Adopting the city of Edinburgh as for the case study does not indicate that other cities are unsuitable for investigation of the charity retailing form. Questionnaires were distributed throughout the city, but the key research element within the case study investigation was the interview.

2.5.1: Case Study Interviews

Interview subjects included charity retail management: area managers, retail managers and assistant managers, property asset managers and those related to the Edinburgh case study specifically. The information regarding the interviewees is displayed in table form overleaf. Each is identified by a sexually ambiguous pseudonym to preserve the respondent's anonymity. To ensure clarity when using quotes for analysis and discussion throughout the thesis, each interviewee is identified through the feminine form.

Table 8: Interview Participants

Interviewee Pseudonym	Position
Alex	Area manager, charity retail.
Ashley	Shop manager, charity retail.
Blair	Shop manager, charity retail.
Dylan	Assistant shop manager, charity retail.
Jamie	Ex-shop manager, charity retail.
Kelly	Shop manager, charity retail.
Lee	Property consultant, commercial.
Rowan	Property asset manager, charity retail.
Sam	Changeworks representative.

Each interview was digitally recorded and transcribed. Prior to the interview beginning each participant was asked to review and sign the ethical protocol (see sub-section **2.3.2**) created specifically for the research (a copy of which is included in appendix 1). Regarding the interviews themselves a unstructured/semi-structured interview

approach was utilised, to allow for any opinions and issues which the respondent felt particularly strongly about (but which may not have been at the forefront of my question topics) to emerge and also to encourage a relaxed and informal experience. This was to encourage engagement with the interviewee, because 'sensitive material is often subtle. And subtle material is not the stuff of questionnaires...It is, in fact, remarkable what people *will* disclose if they feel you are a person they can talk to.' (Gillham, 2000; 16). There were however, themes and questions which were listed down as an aide-memoire, to act as a personal reminder that certain topics needed to be covered. A copy of these relevant to various interviews can be found in appendix 1.

2.6: Analysis: *Nvivo8* and *SPSS*

Considering the large amount of data collected throughout the research period two software packages were chosen to assist with its organisation and analysis. For the qualitative data collected the QSR International programme NVivo8 was adopted and for the quantitative data, the IBM programme SPSS was used. Guidance on the use of each of these programmes was derived primarily from Bryman (2008).

The questionnaire responses received and the interview transcripts were inputted into the NVivo8 software. From this a coded system emerged, which allowed for organisation of similar details and responses into specific areas. Although it is suggested that 'researchers in the social and behavioural sciences typically have to develop their own coding schemes a priori or allow them to emerge within their own research studies' (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998: 121), the NVivo8 codes were not an a priori construct. Conversely, the codes actually emerged from the information received, allowing the conceptual approach expression through the coding system. A pre-emptive coding approach would have given expression to any assumptions made previously about the results of the data collection. However, in and through the research approach adopted the results were to emerge from the data, opposing the 'fitting' of information into a particular preconceived notion. The codes which emerged from the NVivo8 research tool can be found in appendix 1.

However, the SPSS coding system was an a priori construct and was utilised for the yes/no poll results and the tick box responses which were included on Likert scales throughout the questionnaires. Each individual response became a 'variable' which

was then labelled and a 'value' ascribed to it, denoting the answer received to a specific question. This value was typically a number which represented the choice the respondent made on the particular Likert scale. A codebook (Fink, 2003) was created for organisational and reference purposes (see appendix 1). Although the coding was a priori, statistical information needs to be organised and coded prior to its analysis, so it was essential to the method in SPSS. SPSS was used in the course of this research primarily for indicative results (rather than statistical significance or proof) and graphical representation of the responses received. Therefore variables were not subject to any in depth statistical analysis, although SPSS proved a suitable organisational tool for the data.

2.7: Chapter Summary

This chapter has provided a detailed account of the method of inquiry used throughout the progression of the research and data compilation. Each aspect of the methods adopted were considered in turn and explained, including participant observation, questionnaires, interviews and website research. The two organisational tools used to assist with the analysis, NVivo8 and SPSS were also discussed. The conceptual grounding was introduced through the importance of the social 'form' in understanding the struggle in-through-and-against capitalist reproduction. More detail about the grounding Marxist concepts follows in the next chapters, as we move from the method of inquiry to that of presentation and inner connexions...

Chapter 3:

Pursuing a Marxist Understanding of Charity Retailing

3.1: Introducing Grounding Concepts

Today, the charity retailer is a recognised part of the fabric of society. Its continuity on the archetypal high street represents a society desirous of change, of positively affecting the lives of others. It is a retailer to proactively engage with, through donating, purchasing or volunteering and through which altruistic tendencies can be expressed. The charity retailer represents an easy, accessible medium through which to give, to contribute to improving the situation of the needy, the desolate, the impoverished and the sick. It is something which is functioning for the benefit of others, for communities locally and across the world that require aid, solace and comfort.

Charity retailing has evolved into an undeniably significant retail form, one which is consistently associated with positivity in British culture. Charity is, in society, considered overwhelmingly 'good'. However is this association a reality or an illusion? What lies beneath the visibly positive appearance of the charity retailer? The previous paragraph indicates how the notion of benevolence has become entrenched in social practices, reproduced daily through the spectrum of charity retail. It is a paragraph flooded with moralistic tenets, imbued with trust, glowing with altruistic motivations; it is a paragraph full of hope, of belief. An untenable belief, a belief which fails to question the processes represented and reproduced in and through this particular social practice. A belief which lacks negativity. A belief which disregards, fails to recognise (or happily ignores) the form of charity retailing, the antagonisms and struggles of its social form.

So, what of the charity retailer, its evolution and its contradictory practices? This chapter seeks to introduce and detail the grounding concepts of Marxism adopted to uncover the nuances of the charity retailing form. These concepts form the critical foundations of the research, providing an examination of the general form of capitalist society and charity retailing within it. Up to the present day, recognition of the significance of the charity retailer through literature has provided insufficient

theoretical understanding, as it is primarily descriptive and non critical. These analyses elude the complexities inherent within this form of retailing. However, this research addresses the charity retailers' contradictory form through a theory grounded in practice, a theory which acknowledges that understanding can be developed and enhanced through a Marxist informed approach and interpretation.

This chapter details the grounding Marxist concepts which informed the research, such as primitive accumulation, the money form, the state, the value form of wage labour, the commodity form, fetishisation and the property relation. An abstract theoretical overview of each of these concepts is included. How charity itself can be understood is then considered in **3.6**, prior to the chapter summary. The concepts introduced in this chapter continue to permeate through the following chapters, which discuss further the theorisation and analysis of the charity retailer relative to the guiding research question and objectives. To reiterate, the research question as introduced in chapter **1** is as follows:

'How can the research uncover and illustrate the contradictory form and reconstitution of the charity retailer within contemporary capitalist society at the beginning of the twenty first century?'

Through the adoption of a Marxist approach to the form of charity retailing in early twenty-first century Britain an alternative understanding of their particular social practices has emerged. As such, this research into charity retailing cannot be understood without first understanding the Marxist theory which has informed it.

3.2: In Consideration of Charity Retail

Marx acknowledges that 'every beginning is difficult' (1983: 18) and deciding where to begin with an analysis of the charity retailer has demonstrated the continuing truth of this statement. There is a multitude of perspectives, a plethora of practices to observe, intricate layers within, above, below and surrounding this retailing form. The charity retailer, like everything in capitalist society, does not have a linear, straight forward beginning and end point. Many, many theoretical tangents have been explored and some of these may be introduced in future research. However, presently the research is forcibly confined, restrained and corralled. The thesis must have boundaries due to the nature of this research and therefore the conceptualisation of the charity retailer has limits, imposed a priori. Primarily, it is the social form of the charity retailer within the continual remaking of the city and the labour processes which reproduce it which are of central interest. In addressing the research question and objectives, the thesis is not predominantly an economic dissection of the charity retailer, nor a polemic about the form of the state, the environment or present day politics, although each of these social forms is recognised throughout the theorisation. The conceptualisation surpasses the existing descriptive research and presents a fresh interpretation of the social form and particulars of charity retailing. However, it is merely an introduction, a challenge to rethink the practices of charity retailing, a critique of the form of social reproduction which offers a different form of engagement.

Critique is limitless, due to the nature of social reproduction. Critical perspectives are, continually in flux, changing within a society which is itself continually altering. There is constant rupturing, deforming and reforming. Gunn expounds that 'Marxism announces struggle in place of stasis, activity (or practice) in place of passivity, subjectivity in place of substance, particularity in-and-through universality in place of universality alone' (1992: 13). This is the nature of the capitalist form of reproduction and with this lack of stasis, this existence in and through the particular, this active passivity, comes a lack of certainty and recognition of doubt. A doubt which 'reclaims the incompleteness of the process of thinking, it readopts the unpredictability' (Bonefeld, 1994: 36) which permeates society. In this respect, what is presented through this research is not a concrete conclusion (can there ever be such a thing?); it

does not attempt to 'prove' that this relational conceptualisation is 'right'. It is full of doubt, an unfinished process, but offers a representation of the charity retailer in early Twenty-First century Britain within (and against?) the quagmire of capitalist reproduction. It is a discourse, an interpretative narrative, which begins with an exploration of the capitalist mode of production through the value form and the circuit of capital.

3.3: The 'Topsy-Turvy World'⁶ of the Value Form

The capitalist mode of reproduction is motivated simply by a desire to accumulate capital through the production of the commodity form. Capitalist society encourages the creation of wealth and consequentially, greed and inequality. The continual realisation of the 'value-form, whose fully developed shape is the money-form' (Marx, 1983: 19) drives the vast process of commodification in society where our expended labour power finds expression 'not as direct social relations between individuals at work, but as what they really are, material relations between persons and social relations between things' (1983: 78). This is what Marx refers to as 'the Fetishism which attaches itself to the products of men's hands' (Marx, 1983: 77). As such, our existence is mediated and socially conditioned; we exist in an antagonistic position of separation in unity, we are the same but different, individual but collective, we struggle, we question, but we also accept, we constantly reproduce capitalism. We are the authors of our own fate, our destruction and our alienation but not under conditions of our own choosing. 'It is not the *unity* of living and active humanity with the natural...which requires explanation...but rather the *separation* between these inorganic conditions of human existence and this active existence, a separation which is completely posited only in the relation of wage-labour and capital' (Marx, 1973: 489), which alienates us from our own self-realisation. This separation in unity is oppressive, dehumanising, and 'the only way in which we can exist as humans is negatively, by struggling against our dehumanisation' (Holloway, 2002b: 82), consistently attempting to negate the capitalist mode of reproduction. By confronting the contradictions which dehumanise us and by exposing the inherent fragility of the

capitalist mode of production, our existence can be transformed, our negation transcended. As society is 'no solid crystal, but an organism capable of change...constantly changing' (Marx, 1983: 21), another world is possible when the inadequacies and difficulties of capitalism are exposed: the continual changes in society reflect the instability in capitalist reproduction as it must reconstitute itself daily as the governing mode of production.

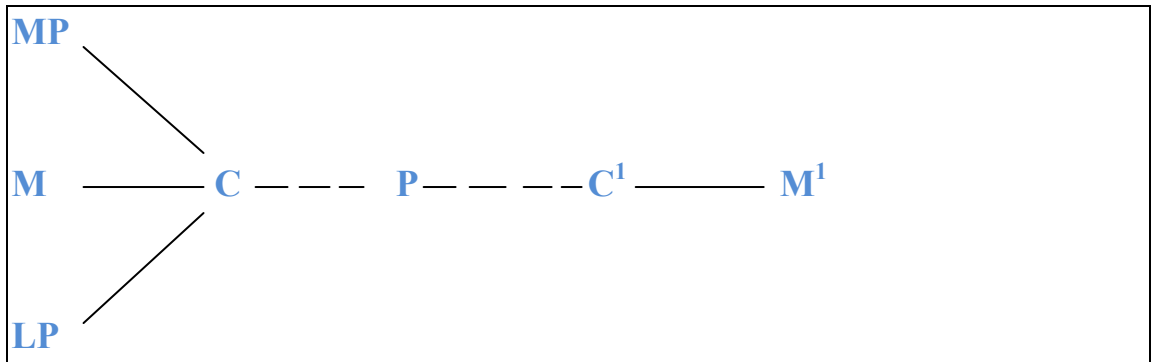
This overview, which introduces us to the language of Marx and his understanding of capitalist social reproduction, is the theoretical foundation for an interpretative, relational approach through which the charity retailer can be discussed. It expands from the open, flexible and fluid understanding of form, the theory in and of practice, the struggle and negation discussed in chapter 2.2. Each element of the respective interconnected social practices of capitalist reproduction alluded to will now be examined in more detail.

Prior to delving into the intricacies of the 'complete mystification of capitalist mode of production' (Marx, 1984: 830) and the circuit of capital, it is necessary to ascertain what is meant by 'capital', an aspect of Marx's opus so important that his trilogy of volumes bear the eponymous title. Capital is not easily ignored, it is everywhere and yet nowhere, but it is essential to the reproduction of capitalism. As the research is considering the charity retailer as a space of capitalism, rather than a space in capitalism, capital and its reproduction in and through the form of charity needs to be questioned. What is capital and how does charity and therefore charity retailing reproduce in and against and through this notion?

The 'Grundrisse' demonstrates the many manifestations of form which capital can assume: Capital 'is not a simple relation but a process...' (Marx, 1973: 29) it is the 'all dominating economic power of bourgeois society...the starting-point as well as the finishing-point' (Marx, 1973: 107); it is 'direct unity of product and money or, better, of production and circulation' (Marx, 1973: 332), 'a social relationship between labour and the conditions of labour' (Bonefeld, 2001a: 6) which then becomes a 'totality of commodities' (Marx, 1973: 261-2). Capital is a relation. A social form. It can be real and illusory, tangible and invisible, fleeting and ephemeral but yet concrete. It is indelible in capitalist reproduction and is consistently trying to expand and expand

again. Its transience colours the interconnected practices and like capitalist society itself, it is continually in transformation and antagonistic. We are capital and capital is us because we reproduce in this particular manner. Capital itself cannot reproduce without 'us' as available labour power, nor money nor the means of production; a relationship which is illustrated by the circuit of capital itself:

Fig 6: The Circuit of Capital.



MP: Means of Production

M & M¹: Money

LP: Labour Power

C: Capital

P: Productive capital

C¹: Commodity produced

The circuit of capital is fragmented into the forms detailed above. However, whilst each form is differentiated from the other, to ensure productivity and encourage capital to expand thus augmenting profit, in practice, all forms must reproduce as unified. The circuit is another illustration of how capitalism is creating and always attempting to perpetuate the experience of separation in unity.

Separation in unity was essential in the progress of the capitalist mode of production. Without the acquiescence of labour power in the circuit of capital, production is rendered void, incomplete and therefore of no value. The 'value of any article is the amount of labour socially necessary, or the labour-time socially necessary for its production' (Marx, 1983: 47). Labour power (LP) is the source of all value in capitalist society. Therefore, the ability to induce change, to negate, to oppose, challenge, alter and transcend capitalism lies with the power of labour. Neither the investment of money (M) nor the expenditure necessary for the means of production (MP), which are each essential for the circuit of capital to self-perpetuate, can create value. The

means of production, such as machinery and technology, are technically commodities themselves, commodities which are being utilised in the expansion of capital and the creation of value. However, 'like every other component of constant capital, creates no new value, but yields up its own value to the product it serves to beget. In so far as the machine has value, and, in consequence, parts with value to the product, it forms an element in the value of that product' (Marx, 1983: 365). Marx refers to how both the means of production and labour power are 'merely the different modes of existence which the value of the original capital assumed when from being money it was transformed into the various factors of the labour-process' (Marx, 1983: 202).

However, these essential aspects of the circuit of capital differ. The means of production reflect '*constant capital*' (Marx, 1983: 202) which continuously remains the same, whereas labour power is '*variable capital*' (Marx, 1983: 202). Labour is subjective and changeable, it is unpredictable and cannot be controlled as the 'dead' labour, the means of production can be. It is 'live' labour and 'it both reproduces the equivalent of its own value, and also produces an excess, a surplus-value, which may itself vary, may be more or less according to circumstances' (Marx, 1983:202). Labour power creates value and each labourer is individually manifested through the value form, as they themselves each become a commodity. The notion of value expressed through labour power is not an infallible and assumed presupposition of capitalist reproduction, the acquiescence of labour power can never be taken for granted. Labour power is an indefinite, it is a volatile force and capitalism must continually reconstitute its mode of reproduction in their ongoing attempts to control the power of labour. Through the expenditure of their labour power the labourer reproduces separation in unity; they are each constantly working for the owners of the means of production, those who possess the elusive 'capital', rather than themselves. This enforced division of labour is 'the assassination of a people' (Urquhart, 1855: 119). Self-realisation and personal creativity is restricted and under certain circumstances is deemed unnecessary and therefore eradicated entirely in the work place. As Daly notes, 'capitalism is a system that seemingly allows for all kinds of individual expression and innovation but only to the extent that it creates a kind of monotheistic attachment to the system itself' (2008: 33). Accordingly, such expression is not one of anti-capitalism, of anti-system, of negativity, of struggle, but of existing within the

prescribed capitalist *modus operandi*. The labourer therefore experiences alienation, in the workplace and through society's capitalist reproduction, 'in the first place we are negated, spat upon, trampled upon. In the second place we are doers, active subjects who produce the commodities that spit on us' (Holloway, 2001: 67). The power of labour is limited, but it is also limitless in its struggle for creativity, for an alternative, an escape from being spat upon. Historically, labour power lost the power to self-realise, becoming alienated and subjugated to the capitalist mode of production through the transition from feudalism to primitive accumulation.

3.4: Our History: The Struggle to Impose Separation...

Our history created the circumstances through which capital has tentatively continued to expand, find expression and an uncertain, unsteady dominance. This expansion, which has reached 'a point of virtual universality today, is not the consequence of its conformity to human nature or to some transhistorical law but the product of its own historically specific internal laws of motion' (Wood, 1999: 117). The ongoing assertion of the capitalist mode of production today cannot be considered as detached and independent from history, as 'the explanation of the structure of society will be an empty abstraction without an explanation of the stages of the development of society' (Duan, 1995: 2). In failing to recognise the historical development of capitalist reproduction, we are left 'open to the spectre of the past and its revenant forms...that will unsettle and haunt' (Hetherington, 2007: ix-x). Our history continues to impose separation upon us, as the previous centuries remain relative to our social existence today. Our own behaviour in the present day will undoubtedly affect the reproduction of future generations.

Marx refers back to primitive accumulation repeatedly throughout *Capital*, as 'the historic basis, instead of the historic result of specifically capitalist production' (Marx, 1983: 585). It is 'not the result of the capitalist mode of production, but its starting point' (Marx, 1983: 667). The beginnings of primitive accumulation, which progressed into capitalism have no obvious starting point or defined timeframe, the process of change was gradual and discrete, and found expression in the expansion of mercantilism in overseas trading, the disintegration of the feudal Lord/serf relationship and the industrial revolution of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The

progressive development of capitalist reproductive methods was fluid and dynamic, and led to 'a certain accumulation of capital, in the hands of individual producers of commodities... during the transition from handicraft to capitalistic industry' (Marx, 1983: 585). Hence, 'the particular bond that tied the serf to one particular master was dissolved and replaced by a mobile, fluid, disarticulated relation of subordination to the capitalist class' (Holloway, 1995: 139). Kerr discusses the importance of this disarticulated relation, as primitive accumulation is the process which 'not only connects the dissolution of feudalism with the development of capitalist relations...it also identifies the historical and spatial conditions for the constitution of capitalism-the process of separating' (Kerr, 2006: 5). Therefore, primitive accumulation is not an event relegated to centuries past, but a process which continues today, just as separation in unity continues as a consequence of capitalist reproduction. It is the ripping away of creativity, of self-realisation. Primitive accumulation can be viewed as 'the condition and presupposition of capital's existence...a constantly reproduced accumulation, be it in terms of the renewed separation of new populations from the means of production and subsistence, or in terms of the reproduction of the age relation in the "established" relations of capital' (Bonefeld, 2001a: 1).

The separation from the means of subsistence occurred previously, during the movement to predominantly capitalist production, when those who worked on the land were 'first forcibly expropriated from the soil, driven from their homes, turned into vagabonds and then whipped, branded, tortured by laws grotesquely terrible, into the discipline necessary for the wage system' (Marx, 1983: 688). The vagabond, Urquhart's aforementioned assassinated people, the labourer, 'instead of rising with the progress of industry, sink[s] deeper and deeper below the conditions of existence of his own class. He becomes a pauper, and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth' (Marx, 2000: 255). Thus the class relation emerges in a very different form than in the feudal, pre-capitalist epoch: 'Marx asks: How is human working activity regulated in a capitalist economy? Marx answers: Human working activity is alienated by one class, appropriated by another class, congealed in commodities, and sold on a market in the form of value' (Perlman, 1982: xxx). We are all impoverished in capitalist society as each of us (irrespective of what Perlman understands as class), whether the impoverished vagabond or the multi-millionaire,

are subordinate to and alienated by the apparent power of capital. The class relation cannot be observed to be as clear cut and stratified as Perlman suggests, one class does not take precedence or dominance over another: everyone is struggling in and against capitalist reproduction, in and through the 'mode of being denied' (Gunn, 1992: 14). Class is a relation, through which we are all impoverished. It is not 'a relation between rich and poor, a relation of inequality between those with money and those without' (Holloway, 1995: 141), but a contradictory relation. The form of capital, however, is consistently reasserting its unsteady dominance (and our own impoverishment) over us all.

The class relation is expressed in and through capital and capitalism 'cannot resolve the fundamental social antagonism (class exploitation) on which it is based. Without this antagonism there would be no capitalism as such...the *grounding* of capitalism – its consistency and stability – is something that is artificially generated and sustained through specific power relations' (Daly, 2008: 30). Just as 'labour is the source of wealth, so is poverty of labour. Banish poverty, you banish wealth' (Chadwick, 1836: 501), impoverishment and inequality is inseparable from the capitalist mode of production. Our continued reproduction creates and exacerbates inequalities within the social form and therefore the class relation. 'The existence of capitalism implies a dynamic of development which attacks us constantly, subjecting our lives more directly to money, creating more and more poverty, more and more inequality, more and more violence' (Holloway, 2005: 20), therefore there exists more and more of a reason for social change. So begins the struggle against the consequences of capitalist social practices and the first active steps towards their negation. The continual separation experienced as a result of primitive accumulation and capitalist reproduction, the pauperisation of the labourer, the enforcing of the wage form and class relations has led to the global society reproducing today and the practices of charity retailer within it.

3.4.1: ...Its Present Day Global Consequences

Today, as a direct result of the constant re-establishing of primitive accumulation and capitalist reproduction (and expansive tendencies) throughout recent centuries, capitalist methods of governance and economic reproduction can be observed in a

myriad of countries throughout the world. A world where boundaries are transcended and territorial limits breached, '*detrterritorialization...* and *interconnectiveness* among nations' (Jellisen & Gottheil, 2009: 4) prevails and inertia is merely a phantom. Marx notes in 'The Communist Manifesto' of 1848 that 'national difference and antagonisms between peoples are daily more and more vanishing, owing to the development of the bourgeoisie, to freedom of commerce, to the world market, to uniformity in the mode of production and in the conditions of life corresponding thereto' (Marx, 2000: 260). It seems that his prophecy that 'the country that is more developed industrially only shows, to the less developed, the image of its own future' (Marx, 1983: 19) as the capitalist world market continues to expand, concomitantly with global inequalities and extremes of wealth and poverty. Nations exist today as global competitors and local concerns, each state and economy reproduce at different levels of abstraction: the global, the national, the local. Capital is redistributed globally. The value form and wage-labour relation find expression across the entire planet, and contradictory social practices are intertwined and interrelated.

However, the evolution of capitalist reproduction was not inevitable and is today frail and withered from crisis and continual reconstitution. Representations of capitalist crises are not difficult to conjure up in society today, think of the sub-prime mortgages, nationalisation of banks, student protests against fee increments and the various wars being fought in response to terrorism and in the name of wealth through oil pipelines: the system today is particularly precarious and unstable. Wood suggests that 'as capitalism spreads more widely and penetrates more deeply into every aspect of social life and the natural environment, its contradictions are increasingly escaping all our efforts to control them' (1999: 121). In response to this global fragility, Wood looks to socialism as an alternative, whereas Holloway suggests that 'since the social flow of doing is a global flow, this necessarily means world communism, that is, a form of organisation in which the people of the world would actively determine the flow of doing in the world' (2010: 39). What holds true is that 'wherever market imperatives regulate the economy and govern social reproduction, there will be no escape from exploitation' (Wood, 1999: 119) and so any challenges to the present quagmire of global capitalism could have a transformative effect. If a flourishing existence prior to capitalism was possible, surely one is possible following its demise?

3.4.2: The State Form: Governance and Control?

'The bourgeoisie, at its rise, wants and uses the power of the state to "regulate" wages...to keep the labourer himself in the normal degree of dependence. This is an essential element of the so-called primitive accumulation' (Marx, 1983: 689). The state form is a relation of capital, another aspect of the process of the continuing crisis of capitalism and its consistent need for reconstitution. Any conceptualisation of the position of the state 'must embrace the whole of the social, political and national conditions of the production of the social formation, conditions which are subject to certain historical processes of transformation' (Hirsch, 1979: 82). This research however, does not attempt to thoroughly theorise the state relation, but wishes to account for its historical evolution, contributing to the research context concomitant to the charity retailer. Therefore, the following provides a brief overview only of the relevant central practices of the state.

The capitalist state performs a regulatory and legal role, as it changes policies, political leadership and methods of governance. The state represents competition, nationally and globally, politically and monetarily, but can it be seen to represent power? The state itself is fragile as it enforces the precarious relations of labour power and the value form; it is technology of power, existing through the reassertion of capitalist relations. Throughout the periods of Keynesianism, monetarism and the present day mire of privatisation under neoliberalism, the state has remained and will continue to remain at the mercy of capital and that as a 'social form, the development of the state (administration) can only be understood as a moment of the antagonistic and crisis-ridden development of capitalist social relations' (Kerr, 1999: 199). Each form of the state seeks to 'impose its will not only upon its opponents but upon the anarchical flux, change and uncertainty to which capitalist modernity is always prone...struggling to impose its will upon a fluid and spatially open process of capital circulation (Harvey, 1989: 108). The state is ensnared in the reproduction of the circuit of capital and mediates the social form of existence through separation in unity, it is 'limited and shaped by the fact that it exists as just one node in a web of social relations' (Holloway, 2002a: 13). The state does not occupy some autonomous pedestal in a far removed political world, it is not external to society, but is inherent in and constituted daily through social relations. It is 'not an external force, but an externalised force...of our

own constant creation and re-creation...as an authority standing outside us, and of politics as a distinct sphere separated from our daily lives, from our doing and eating and loving' (Holloway, 2010: 134). The state itself, as with the capitalist social form is antagonistic and experiences separation in unity.

The state form and methods of governance, as they reproduce capital, thus reproduce the consequences of capital, such as the class relation and poverty within society. Regulation of the class relation has historically been a mainstay of state practices and although much legislation, such as those referred to by Marx in *Capital* (The Factory Act 1850 (1983: 229), Factory Acts Extension Act 1867 (1983: 463) and the Workshop's Regulation Acts 1867 (1983: 463)) were apparently created in the interests of labour, they also sought to further the reproduction of capital. Ultimately, labour power remains in a position of subordination to 'capitalistic greed' (Marx, 1983: 230). The impoverished classes in Victorian Britain were regarded as being victims of their own circumstance, their poverty was viewed as their own fault and a laissez-faire approach was adopted on the part of the state. However, legislation continued into the twentieth century with the National Insurance Act 1911, the Beveridge Report 1942 and the National Health Service Act, 1948 introducing social changes through the welfare state. Today, the archaic notions of 'fault' in the unequal class relation persist even though 'holding the poor responsible for their own fate undermines the anger that poverty and inequality provoke while removing the blame from the system that is responsible' (Jones & Novak, 1999: 5). The manifestation of unequal capitalist relations in and through the practices and form of the state is the responsible system referred to by Jones and Novak.

Financial regulation and the behaviour of the economy has also been a significant component of the state relation. The state form is subordinate to capital and therefore to the movement and expansion of money, which 'confines the state within the limits imposed by the contradictory form of accumulation of capital on a world scale' (Bonefeld, 1993a: 3). The financial significance of the state's capital cannot be easily disregarded as 'the total income of society passing through the hands of the state has reached levels much greater than income going directly to private capital as profits, interest and rent' (Harman, 2009: 112). As discussed in **3.4.1**, the national state does not exist in isolation, but its reproduction is integrated into the global flow

of capital. Within this international context, the reorganisation of capital and the reconstitution of capitalist reproduction results in changes in the relations between labour and capital as the class relation shifts, employment levels fluctuate, mortgage payments are defaulted, inflation increases and credit expands.

The state relation provides governance and an element of control in society today (militia and policing, education and welfare in addition to legislation), existing as an inherent aspect of capitalist reproduction and thus also existing as a reflection of its weaknesses. The power of the state is limited; it is but one representation of the social form of society. The state form is 'far from being able to occupy the whole field of actual power relations [and]...can only operate on the basis of other, already existing power relations...a whole series of networks that invest the body, sexuality, the family, kinship, knowledge technology and so forth' (Foucault, 1980: 122).

3.5: Curiosities of Capitalist Reproduction

In a return to the value form and the circuit of capital (figure 6) introduced in section 3.3, this section revisits and considers particular aspects of capitalist reproduction in more detail. The following discussion is concerned with those elements which have greatest bearing on the understanding of the charity retailer and its evolution, with reference to the research being undertaken. As the labour processes within charity retailing and its representation in and through the fetishised commodity form and the built environment are central to the guiding research question (see sections 1.4 and 3.1), the concepts regarding the means of production and constant capital are not addressed further. 'Labour is the living, form-giving fire; it is the transitoriness of things, their temporality, as their formation by living time' (Marx, 1973: 361) and it is this value creating 'fire' which is central to interpreting and conceptualising the charity retailing form. In addition to labour power (3.5.2), the commodity form (3.5.3) and relations of private property (3.5.4) are considered. But firstly, the attention turns towards the money form.

3.5.1: 'Make Money your God and it will plague you like the Devil.'⁷

'The capitalist knows that all commodities, however scurvy they may look, or however badly they may smell, are in faith and truth money...and what is more, a wonderful means whereby out of money to make more money' (Marx, 1983: 152).

Money, as a social form of capitalist reproduction is both an input and an output of the circuit of capital, (figure 6). Through the circuit of capital and the production of commodities, the money form is offered expression, as the concrete form of capital and therefore value, whilst representing increasing inequalities and the fetish. Through the process of fetishisation (as it is never static, but fluid, flexible and in flux), the labourers wage, in the money form, illustrates the 'material relations between persons and social relations between things' (Marx, 1983: 78). Money, under the capitalist mode of reproduction, is inescapable, as Zizek describes how, even if we understand the money form from an antagonistic Marxist perspective, it can still be alluring, can still assert a level of dominance over us: 'money is, for Marx, a fetish: I pretend to be a rational, utilitarian subject, well aware how things truly stand, but I embody my disavowed belief in the money-fetish...' (2009: 65). Money is the social form of greed, but it can also be interpreted as the social form of charity (addressed in section 3.6). Money is essential for the reproduction of charity and charity retailers, as it is for any other capitalist enterprise.

Marx talks of the 'riddle presented by commodities' (1983: 96) and of how it is the same as that of the money form. Within the circuit of capital (see 3.3.1) money is both an input and outcome of production; the commodity is created as a result only. We know that the process of capital accumulation is unfinished without 'money' and that money as 'this final product of the circuit of commodities is the first form in which capital appears' (Marx, 1983: 145). Money contributes to the creation of commodities, yet unlike labour power, creates no value, nor has any value itself. It is a representation, a symbol, an association in society, appearing as a sign of wealth and success. It is also a representative of avarice, inequality and social conditioning, of control and manipulation of individuals as each of us experience subordination to capital in its monetary form. If money does become our God, its utilisation and

⁷ Henry Fielding quote, www.quotationspage.com/search.php3?homesearch=money&page=5

investment has powers of creation yet also, antagonistically from the perspective of Henry Fielding's devil (see sub-section title), its destructive effects are simultaneously at play. In its duality, money can induce success and cause the soul to soar or adversely, result in abject failure and the soul quivers, defeated. Money is indeed the 'vanishing mediator' (Marx, 1973: 295), a mediator which can at once be present, but fleeting, in abundance yet a constant weakness, once which is 'a most vital centre' (Pouget, 1913: 74), a necessity for capitalism. The money form exists as both concrete and abstract, respectively through the tangibility of notes and coinage and the representation of the value of social labour power (the social form of capitalist reproduction). In the abstract, 'money itself has no price...it is therefore a purely ideal or mental form' (Marx, 1983: 98). Money is the 'universal medium of payment...the universal means of purchasing and as the universally recognised embodiment of all wealth' (Marx, 1983: 142), it is something which in capitalist Britain, must be engaged with daily to ensure our own existence. An existence mediated by the fetishisation of money and a 'wealth' which is merely poverty by another name.

Commodities and money have a complementary '*modus vivendi*' (Marx, 1983: 106) and it is this relationship in the limitless circulation of capital which is of interest, as they have a mutually reinforcing relationship. A commodity cannot be created without investing money (M-C-M) and the value of a commodity must be realised for further money to be accrued to reinvest in commodity creation (C-M-C). 'The simple circulation of commodities -- selling in order to buy -- is a means of carrying out a purpose unconnected with circulation, namely...the satisfaction of wants. The circulation of money as capital is, on the contrary, an end in itself, for the expansion of value takes place only within this constantly renewed movement. The circulation of capital has therefore no limits' (Marx, 1983:150) and money is 'constantly being precipitated into new places in the area of circulation vacated by other commodities...Circulation sweats money from every pore' (Marx, 1983: 114). Money is an alienating force in society and is itself alienated through the circuit of production as it has no value except for that which it is ascribed.

Throughout the course of history, through the transformation into capitalist methods of reproduction, money has become something coveted. It is, like everything else in capitalism fragile and in flux, as its economic value augments and disintegrates. Yet

what has remained constant (and even continues to augment globally?) has been the capitalistic struggle for its continued accumulation and expansion. Money enforces separation in unity; it is a symbol of our ongoing objectification and alienation. Money in capitalism is an essential form, through separation we are consistently impoverished and continue to reproduce the capitalist mode of production. Through the wage-labour relationship and the necessary consumption of the commodity form, money will continue to find expression and continuity in society. It is in and through the money form that charity and consequentially charity retailing each experience their own struggle for survival.

3.5.2: *Labour Power as Powerless Labour?*

As discussed in section 3.3 labour power is the source of all value in capitalist reproduction. It is where the struggle begins and ends, as it is the only 'live' component within the circuit of capital, it is the only element which can speak, speak against and question the form of capitalist reproduction. The constant separating from the means of production/subsistence and the money form through the wage received in turn for labour, coupled with the continual reconstitution of primitive accumulation illustrates the precarious reliance of capitalist reproduction upon labour power. The social form can reproduce without the capitalist value relationship, and can do again, because 'this division of labour is a necessary condition for the production of commodities, but it does not follow, conversely, that the production of commodities is a necessary condition for the division of labour'(Marx, 1983: 49). The capitalist is bound to the labourer to ensure commodity reproduction, while the labourer struggles against this position of subordination: the power to alter the social form unquestionably rests with them.

Labour power is 'free in the double sense, that as a free man he can dispose of his labour-power as his own commodity, and that on the other hand he has no other commodity for sale, is short of everything necessary for the realisation of his labour-power' (Marx, 1983: 166). Yes, the labourer is free to dispose of their labour-power, but often there is not a choice in what their labour power is expended on or how this happens. As the labourer is also free of the means of production, they must sell their labour power through the wage relation if they want to survive through the capitalist

mediums of money and commodity consumption. Self-realisation is limited as the 'free' man has insufficient capital and means of production to interact in society for himself and himself only. Self-realisation becomes a dream. Labour power 'becomes a reality only by its exercise; it sets itself in action only by working' (Marx, 1983: 167) and through this exercise, labour power becomes a commodity subsumed by capital.

Through the live, value forming labour power within the circuit of capital, the money form of capital proliferates. 'More money is withdrawn from circulation at the finish than was thrown into it at the start...the original sum advanced, plus an increment. This increment of excess over the original value I call "surplus-value". The value originally advanced, therefore, not only remains intact while in circulation, but adds to itself a surplus-value or expands itself. It is this movement that converts it into capital' (Marx, 1983: 149). The expansion of money capital would not be possible without the acquisition of surplus value but the importance of the money form itself (as capital) is undeniable. Neither capital nor the money form would exist without the value creating power of labour.

The reproduction of capitalist society is entirely dependent upon 'co-operation based on division of labour...it becomes the recognised methodical and systematic form of capitalist production' (Marx, 1983: 167). If there is no co-operation then there is no labour power, no surplus-value is produced, therefore neither are commodities, thus preventing the expansion of capital and resulting in yet another manifestation of crisis within the capitalist system. The individual, personal relationship between the labourer and the owner of the means of production, the capitalist employer, finds collective expression across the world due to the mass co-operation of labour power. The expenditure of labour power becomes a 'social habit' (Holloway, 2010: 103), one which seems to go unquestioned. 'Surplus-value is no longer seen as an individual relationship of exploitation, but as part of a larger whole in which labourers, in co-operation and spread across the detail division of labour, collectively produce the surplus-value that the capitalist appropriate' (Harvey, 2010: 237), therefore the power of labour across the world is immense, unfathomable, but it continues to reproduce in the interest of capitalists reproduction. Labour power is itself a quandary, a contradiction, as labour power can be seen to be powerless to change the social form

(as it is subsumed by it and the money form) yet the power to change lies only with labour power.

The relation between capital and labour is mutually reinforcing and for the continuation of the capitalist mode of production it 'appears in fact as an even more important result of the process than its material results' (Marx, 1973: 458). This is because 'the creation of labour and the creation of capital are the same process, and the struggle against capital is the struggle against that which produces it, the struggle against labour' (Holloway, 2010: 104). As labour power is expended and a commodity produced, the labourer is removing themselves from their own self-realisation by creating surplus value and therefore capital, for someone else. Concomitantly, the capitalist is reproducing the capital/labour relationship, which can threaten and oppose him. Although the mode of reproduction finds expression through the capitalist/labourer relation, 'the capitalist produces labour as alien; labour produces the product as alien. The capitalist produces the worker and the worker the capitalist etc... Each reproduces itself, by reproducing its other, its negation' (Marx, 1973: 458). The relationship can only be seen as a destructive process, dominated by capital and money, sucking the lifeblood of both the labourer and indeed the capitalist. We are all alienated through the capitalist mode of reproduction, labour is 'cruel and dehumanising...a complex prison...a process of self-entrapment' Holloway, (2010: 104/105).

In this alienated prison of self-entrapment, 'value is nothing but objectified labour, and surplus value (realization of capital) is only the excess above that part of objectified labour which is necessary for the reproduction of labouring capacity. But labour as such is and remains the presupposition...Capital must therefore constantly posit necessary labour in order to posit surplus labour' (Marx, 1973: 399). It is the amount of time devoted to the necessary labouring which the capitalist will continually attempt to diminish in order to accumulate increasing profits, as 'the value of a commodity represents human labour in the abstract' (Marx, 1983: 51). Labour power in the abstract is 'the basic kernel upon which capitalist society is built' (De Angelis, 1995: 108). The antagonism is thus that the capitalist is continually trying to minimise and destroy the time for commodity production through necessary labour, but the only way in which commodities can be produced is through the active engagement of

labour power. This is the mutually reinforcing relationship of co-operation, the need to acquire a wage on the part of the labourer and augment profit on the part of the capitalist. The capitalist mode of reproduction 'compels capital towards the elimination of necessary labour at the same time as capital exists only in and through labour: the imposition of necessary labour is the precondition for exploitation' (Bonefeld, 1993b: 119). This alienation and separation of the labourer is what Marx refers to as 'the sine qua non of capitalist production' (1983: 535-6). The capitalist mode of production, in enforcing separation and dispossession results in labour power being 'completely emptied, his creativity is pumped-out and sucked-up...the pollution of capital. Capital...surpasses its limits... but it cannot do this without men, the necessary pollution' (Camatte, 1972: 6). Just as labour power is the necessary pollution of capital, conversely, capital and its mode of reproduction are also the constant pollutants of labour power, as creativity becomes poisoned and the potential for self-realisation contaminated...but not dead, not destroyed. It is ultimately the capitalist mode of reproduction which can be rendered powerless in and through the actions of the form of labour, a subordinate, but struggling and hopeful form.

3.5.3: The Commodity: Creation of a Cult Form?

What then of the commodity produced by labour power? This section considers the dual character of the commodity and reflects on how the form of the commodity has become entrenched into the social practices of capitalism.

We know that the source of value in capitalist society is abstract, dispossessed and separated labour power. Abstract labour finds itself realised in and through the production of a form which continues to enforce separation in unity, a form removed from their labour power, yet essential for continued survival in capitalism. This is the commodity form, 'an object outside us, a thing that by its properties satisfies human wants of some sort or another. The nature of such wants, whether, for instance they spring from the stomach or from fancy, makes no difference' (Marx, 1983: 43). Through the creation of commodities, 'concrete labour becomes the form under which it's opposite, abstract human labour, manifests itself' (Marx, 1983: 64), as something tangible, sellable and alien to that labour power. As a commodity, as concrete labour, the individual's labour power becomes impersonal and unconnected to them, as it

becomes a social form. The labourer experiences 'indifference in relation to the final product they are producing and what they are doing and why. In other words, the sensuous *experience* of working is restricted to the experience of exhaustion and emptiness of meaning' (De Angelis, 1995: 110-1).

The abstract labour power embodied in the commodity form creates value, but the realisation of this value only finds representation through the exchange of a commodity in return for the money form. However, this exchange is presupposed by the fact that the commodity somehow fulfils the human wants to which Marx alludes. This 'want' is the use-value of the commodity as 'nothing can have value without being an object of utility. If the thing is useless, so is the labour contained in it; the labour does not count as labour, and therefore creates no value' (Marx, 1983: 48). Therefore, the consumer must identify with the commodity form and once the exchange has taken place, and the commodity 'has found a resting-place, where it can serve as a use-value, it falls out of the sphere of exchange into that of consumption' (Marx, 1983: 106). A commodity can have a use-value without having an exchange value (such as the air we breathe), but an exchange value without a use-value fails to realise any value in the form of money as capital. The use-value of a commodity 'disrupts...or blows apart...the effort by value to become a self-subsistent totality. Whether the rebellion of living-labour, or exhaustion of natural resources, will undermine it' (2002: 198). The continual realisation of exchange values and the consumption of commodities propel capitalist reproduction and the circuit of capital, whilst simultaneously this 'constant repetition of exchange makes it a normal social act' (Marx, 1983: 91). The value of the commodity is determined by 'the amount of labour socially necessary...for its production' (Marx, 1983: 47), something which the capitalist is continually attempting to diminish in order to augment the surplus value realised through manipulation of the wage labour relationship (as discussed in **3.5.2**). The dual nature of the commodity is thus revealed, in use-value and exchange-value, each very different, but both essential for the realisation of value. This antagonistic relation is what Marx calls the 'unity of difference...two opposite poles...as necessarily opposite as they are connected' (1983: 106-7).

The commodity is a form which represents Marx's fetish (introduced in section **3.3** and sub-section **3.5.1**) and its continual reassertion in the capitalist mode of reproduction.

The fetish considers how the commodity form becomes indicative of social relations and the material objects reflect human relations. Holloway describes this as 'the rupture of doing' (2002a: 43) where 'fetishisation is the containment of the power of labour; defetishisation is the overflowing of the power of labour, the scream of negativity. Marxism is defetishisation' (2002a: 21). How can this containment of labour power be understood through the commodity form, the 'magic and necromancy that surrounds the products of labour' (1983: 80)?

Debord suggests that 'the fetishism of the commodity...attains its ultimate fulfilment in the spectacle, where the real world is replaced by a selection of images...which...succeed in making themselves regarded as the epitome of reality' (2005: 19). The labourer, struggling against capitalist reproduction concomitantly and antagonistically continues to produce such commodities and therefore the associated images, creating the spectacle, thus enforcing separation. This is the 'definite social relation between men, that assumes, in their eyes, the fantastic form of a relation between things' (Marx, 1983: 77). This 'fantastic' commodity form has also been translated as 'phantasmagoric', something indicating deception, concealment and illusion. Hetherington suggests that this is Marx's way of '*understanding the commodity's regime of curiosity*, a regime that he considers to be a false one' (2007: 61). The commodity form then, is a smokescreen for the abstract labour power contained within it and through the fetishisation, the labour power becomes obscured and the commodity a social representation of materialism, money and wealth. To continue with Debord, he recognises that through this phantasmagoric form, 'the spectacle presents itself simultaneously as society itself, as part of society, and as a *means of unification*...the unification it achieves is nothing but an official language of universal separation' (2005: 7), a separation which conceals 'the *unity of poverty*' (2005: 31). Through the spectacle, the 'undisturbed development of modern capitalism' (Debord, 2005: 32) and its expansion can be observed as 'commodity fetishism subsequently came to be applied more widely to consumer relations and consumer culture in general and ultimately with all forms of experience, consciousness, and rationality within capitalism as a whole' (2007: 73).

Certain aspects of Debord's theory of spectacle seem to be at odds with the open Marxist approach adopted. Although Debord acknowledges the position of separation

in unity, capitalism is assumed as inevitable, unalterable, through its apparently undisturbed development. Debord fails to reconcile the separation in unity with the contradictions and struggles continually reasserting and forming within the capitalist mode of production, therefore poverty is seen as unity, but not as separation, capitalism is seen as undisturbed rather than crisis ridden and terrorised by the power of labour. However, Debord's concepts of how the process of commodity fetishisation is encountered through the spectacle are an illuminating lens through which the social form can be observed. The twenty-first century is awash with the commodity form and associations with the spectacular, but can these ideas contribute to a better understanding of the charity retailer?

3.5.4: Private Property and the Rent Relation: Uneven Geographical Development

Through the imposition of the wage labour relation, the doubly free labourer, in addition to finding themselves subordinate to the fetishised commodity and money forms through the capitalist mode of reproduction are also rendered 'propertyless' (Marx, 1973: 507). In expending abstract labour power and creating their alienated labour, the antagonism of '*the exchange of labour for labour – seemingly the condition of the worker's property – rests on the foundation of the worker's propertylessness*' (Marx, 1973: 515) as 'the laws of private property – liberty, equality, property – property in one's own labour, and free disposition over it – turn into the ...dispossession of his labour' (Marx, 1973: 674). The labourer, therefore, becomes unable to subsist in capitalist society, to creatively self-realise and experiences a removal, a rupturing from their own property, their labour power. Any 'self-earned private property, that is based, so to say, on the fusing together of the isolated, independent labouring-individual with the conditions of his labour, is supplanted by capitalist private property, which rests on exploitation of the nominally free labour of others, *i.e.*, on wage-labour' (Marx, 1983: 714). Just as there is a mutually reinforcing, yet antagonistic relation between labour and capital (3.5.2), the contradiction finds further expression in the relation of propertylessness. This is another illustration of the interconnectedness of the capitalist social form and its complex reproduction, but it is also another potential opportunity for change as crises manifest themselves within the practices of propertylessness. The success of the capitalist mode of production rests on what Marx call 'the trinity formula' (1984: 814) of capital, land and labour,

‘which comprises all the secrets of the social production process’ (Marx, 1984: 814). Within these secrets, the property and rent relations (real estate relations) find expression through the land, which is the physical manifestation of the capitalist built environment.

‘Wages are an immediate consequence of alienated labour and alienated labour is the immediate cause of private property. Thus the disappearance of one entails also the disappearance of the other (Marx, 2006: 94) and through the development of an alternative society, making private property ‘disappear’ was an essential purpose for Marx. The destruction of ‘private property and the appropriation of human life is therefore the positive abolition of all alienation, thus the return of man...into his human, i.e. social being’ (Marx, 2006: 98). Just as the removal of the labourer from the land was alienation enforced (historically and constantly reconstituted in the present day, see section **3.4** and sub-section **3.4.1**), the removal of private property is a reawakening of human creativity. Capitalist private property relations and the labourers experiences of propertylessness ‘is the final and most complete expression of the system of producing and appropriating products, that is based on class antagonisms, on the exploitation of many by the few’ (Marx, 2006: 256). Capitalist relations of private property are not autonomous, but find expression through the triptych of capital, land, labour and in turn through the forms of the state, the commodity and money.

The property relation therefore is one which also reproduces separation in unity. The labourer is removed from the land and the labourer and the land each then become independent commodities in their own right, interacting with each other through the assertion of the wage labour relation. Labour becomes alien to itself and land also becomes an abstraction, reduced to acres and metres, defined, and measured, carved up and sold. However, land itself has no value as it is not produced by labour (‘property is theft!’ shouts Proudhon). Land is a consequence of nature, but as it is appropriated into the circuit of capitalist reproduction, its utility becomes tradeable, ‘stolen’ from nature and presented as a commodity. Therefore land (or buildings upon the land) must be deemed useful and if occupation or ownership of said land is desired, it is exchanged for the money form. In this respect, ‘money and private property presuppose each other. The enforcement of property protects money and

money is the means through which property is acquired' (Kerr, 2006:26). Property (land/buildings) then becomes a legal right, a legal form in capitalism. If the property is not owned, the rent relation is introduced. In exchange for an agreed sum of money, the land and the buildings upon it can be accessed and used, therefore perpetuating separation in unity, as money is the social form of capital. Only through the expenditure of abstract labour power in return for a wage in the form of money, can the labour power then exchange that money to access property. Such conceptualisation does not account for what capitalist reproduction deems 'illegal' activities such as squatting, which can be interpreted as reclaiming the land, struggling against property, thus abolishing the private of 'private property' and the associated exchange with the money form.

It is the property relation, of ownership or rent, which colours the geographical reproduction of the capitalist built environment. It is a geography which reflects the fragility of capitalism, property is consistently changing and reforming in and through the global dynamic of capital. However it is unlike the forms of capital and abstract labour, as it is fixed capital, immobile and static, bound to a specific location. As Marx states, 'title to this fixed capital may change, it may be bought and sold, and to this extent may circulate ideally. These titles of ownership may even circulate in foreign markets, for instance in the form of stocks. But a change of the persons owning this class of fixed capital does not alter the relation of the immovable, materially fixed part of the national wealth to its movable part' (1977: 166). Therefore, the ascribed 'value' of property in its fixed state is determined by the nature of capitalist reproduction, related to ongoing crises of capital which are 'manifested ever more directly (and visibly) in the geography of capitalism' (Smith, 1990: 89). The property relation creates a built environment which has developed (and continues to develop) in a spatially irregular and sometimes almost erratic fashion, it represents a '*plenitude of different relations*' (Thrift, 1995: 310). The built environment is the structural representation of capitalist reproduction, antagonistically as 'social development leads to an increased emancipation from space in one direction, spatial fixity also becomes an increasingly vital underpinning to social development' (Smith, 1990: 84). Through the space of the built environment, capital flows, capital produces space and space produces capital, space is deformed and reformed, separated in unity. Therefore, if 'the spatial was

always socially constructed...it had to be recognised that the social was necessarily also spatially constructed' (Massey, Allen & Sarre, 1999: 6), as the spatial and the social forms exist in and through each other. It is through this uneven spatial development of capitalism that the charity retailer has found expression.

3.6: What is Charity?

Section 3.3 posed the question 'what is capital and how does charity and therefore charity retailing reproduce in and against this form?' This section considers how, following the discussion of the capitalist mode of production in this chapter, 'charity' can now be understood.

'Charity' is an umbrella term, which has many connotations and can relate to a plethora of differing circumstances. The definition of charity offered by the Oxford English Dictionary illustrates this:

'Charity (noun): 1. An organisation set up to help those in need. 2. The voluntary giving of money or other to help those in need. 3. Help or money given to those in need. 4. Tolerance in judging others' (2006: 160).

Charity is a suggestive and subjective notion, defined by subjective notions, such as help, need and tolerance. Therefore charity is something that can mean very different things to different people. The word charity can be attributed to the Greek word 'agape', which means love. This, over time, due to the effect of the Latin language and theology, became 'caritas', meaning, costliness, esteem and affection. The English spelling of charity is a derivative of the French 'charite' which is defined directly from caritas. The etymology of the word charity reinforces the idea that charity is open to interpretation and also continually changing.

Pimpare recounts an amusing, yet discomfoting anecdote about the misguided charitable actions of the Children's Potted Plant Society in New York, as Christmas 1893 approached. In the cause of charity a group of the society ladies visited the slums where 'their plan was simple: They would give a small plant to each of the neediest young cases, offering them a bit of life and colour for their grim, cramped abodes. They looked forward to the grateful, smiling faces as they distributed their bounty, one little plant to each little pauper' (2008: 373). The society ladies sought to

offer some comfort and help to the impoverished children. Upon meeting the impoverished children rushed to collect as many plants as they each could carry and ran off to sell them. The plants failed to satisfy any of the essential needs or wants of the children, but this dead labour was tradeable and the means of survival accessible through the exchange of their plants for the money form. Although the notion of plants bringing happiness to a hungry child seems ridiculous, the motivation of charity guided by ideas of 'help' and 'need' did result in access to the means of survival. Today potted plants from society ladies would not be considered a charitable gift to impoverished children, notions of charity and its engagement are different today than they were a century ago, just as they were different in pre-capitalist and capitalist societies.

Charity is a relation of capital. It experiences fetishisation and is consumed as a commodity, part of the society of the spectacle. Charity engages with and reproduces the relations of property, labour and the money form. Indeed, charity is subordinate to both the money form and labour power, just as each of these forms then becomes subordinate to the notion of charity itself, that of 'helping' others by expending abstract labour and maximising monetary income. Charity, in a way, presupposes that labour power is removed from self-realising and the means of production, that the wage labour relation is active. If there was no separation in the reproduction of the social form, the idea of charity as addressing 'need' would evaporate, cease to exist.

Charity cannot overcome the circuit of capital, although in many ways it is oppositional to it and struggling against the consequences of capitalist reproduction. Comprehension of 'capital's effort at domination requires understanding...efforts at liberation and these latter involved not merely the positive creation of alternative ways of being but also the resistance to domination' (Cleaver, 1993: 33). Charity can be seen as resistance to domination, an ongoing and active negation of the inequality and social problems manifested across the world through reproducing capitalism. Just as capital 'drives beyond every spatial barrier' (Marx, 1973: 524), charity is a global phenomenon. Charity is not essential for the reproduction of capital, but charity exists in, through and against the circuit of capital, as a form of redistribution with limited powers of transformation and change. The struggle continues, but as charity continues to reproduce, so too does capitalism, and Cleaver's 'resistance to

domination' is therefore a relation of struggle, one of attrition, but an attrition which reproduces in a capitalistic manner. Charity reproduces, but as capitalist charity, rather than anti-capitalist charity. The realisation of change is therefore limited and society continues to live in a position of separation in unity. The money form is redirected through charity from the impoverished to the impoverished. Through charity, labour is unified with the means of survival, but in an abstract fetishised way, as 'those unable, or unwilling, to sell their souls are forced to adopt other survival strategies as "outlaws", working in the "informal economy", or through charity or state assistance' (Kerr, 2006: 29). The reproduction of charity realises the reproduction of labour power through provision of the means of survival (in the form of dead labour, such as food and shelter). Thus, through charity impoverishment is preserved, rather than eradicated.

The state form (3.4.2) is fragile mediator, enforcing capitalism's ongoing reproduction of separation in unity. It is also an enforcer of charity. Charity has become subsumed by the state; it is legitimised, embraced and promoted as a guiding social principle. The joy of giving and helping others is presented as a movement towards addressing social problems and improving the social form. The state, in this respect, is promoting the redistribution of impoverishment, charity is formalised, separation and inequality preserved. Charity provides the means through which labour power survives, which simultaneously panders to and complements the capitalist state form in various ways. If charity did not exist, social problems could become increasingly exacerbated (excess theft, strikes, riots etc) as the impoverished rally together and gather their voices. A response, a rebuke in such a situation would be necessary on the part of the state form, expressed through political and no doubt police action. The reproduction of charity limits such action. Charity is also concerned with social welfare, therefore the reproduction of the state is supported by charity, diminishing the state's financial responsibilities for welfare provision. Charity is an alternative to, but also a medium of state support. In discussing the history of capitalist accumulation, Roberts discusses how "pauperism" was one means amongst many for the continual subordination of the working class to both the wage form and the rule of law' (2002: 108). The word pauperism here could easily be substituted for that of charity.

Charity is also a cultural concept; it is consumed and reproduced as a commodity, part of the spectacle, a social event. In the reproduction of “cultural capitalism”, one no longer sells (and buys) objects which “bring” cultural or emotional experiences, one directly sells (and buys) such experiences’ (Zizek, 2009: 139), like the experience of the charity form. Through the experience of charity, the contradictions of capitalist reproduction are given an outlet, a social expression in an ‘acceptable’ and permitted way, which doesn’t undermine capital, but is itself antagonistic. The experience and interaction with charity is typically a mediated relation, one which can be understood as ‘interpassivity...delegated “passivity”...or delegated consumption’ (Pfaller, 2003). In giving to charity, we remove all responsibility for action from ourselves to the charity, the relation is one of trust, but also one of interpassivity. The consequences of our charity (be it donated money or commodities) are not realised by us as donors. The direct act of charity to its recipients is a delegated relation. Therefore, some (as not all charity can be interpreted as interpassive) engagement with charity is mediated by the social form and culture of consumption, consuming charity as an ideal, an experience. Fisher relates interpassivity to the Disney film ‘*Wall-E*’, and suggests that ‘the film performs our anti-capitalism for us, allowing us to continue to consume with impunity’ (2009: 12). Charity can be conceptualised in a similar manner. In and through its battle of attrition with capital, charity struggles antagonistically on our behalf, while we continue to unquestionably consume the mediated form of cultural spectacle presented to us. Through this spectacle of consumption and the ongoing reproduction of capitalism, the form of charity has become a state form, a mediator of labour, impoverishment and the existence of separation in unity. Such reproduction of charity has led to the realisation of charity retailers in the urban form.

3.7: What Next?

In ‘walking...we ask questions’ (Notes from Nowhere, 2003: 499) of the society in which we exist (though our creativity is restrained) and reproduce (though we may prefer its alteration, or indeed destruction). Movement is positive, it is an attempt to negate the society which encloses us. Questioning the social form, the practices which are deforming and reforming around us can be approached in a different way, from an alternative perspective. It is by asking questions of the charity retailer in Britain today that a fresh, Marxist informed conceptualisation of their general and particular forms

(as they are one in the same), can contribute to knowledge and understanding. This chapter sought to introduce the Marxist concepts which were intrinsic in developing this theorisation of charity retailing.

The previous chapter introduced the research methodology and this chapter presents the conceptual grounding of the research and the theorisation of 'charity' itself. The following chapter considers the contradictory space of the charity retailer, including firstly a theorisation of the notion of the volunteer, followed by concepts relating to the urban space through which this retailer has developed (and conversely, the space which it has created). Chapter five then provides an historical context, firstly outlining the evolution of the charity retailer in Britain and secondly analysing their labour processes. Moving and asking questions continues...

Chapter 4:

The Antagonistic Space of the Charity Retailer

The Inception of a Unique Social Form?

4.1: Questioning the Reproduction of Charity Retailing

The previous chapter began the conceptualisation of the form of the charity retailer, introducing the critical theory grounded in Marxist thought through which this particular, (but is it unique?) social form can be understood. This chapter questions the reproduction of the charity retailer, exploring the dichotomy between the practices which it constantly creates and simultaneously destroys (and which constantly create and simultaneously destroy it). This de-forming/re-forming continuum, which constantly reinforces separation in unity, is considered progressively, moving from the form of the volunteer itself to the space through which the volunteer finds expression, in and through consumption of the retail market. Consumption in society, an essential aspect of the reproduction of the charity retailer is then queried prior to a discussion of particular theories of 'space', including Lefebvre's triad and Foucault's heterotopia. Is the charity retailer a space of 'difference', a heterotopia? Can these concepts contribute towards a more accessible, open and interconnected insight into the charity retailing form? The narrative then continues into an examination of the urban form manifested in capitalism and its interpretation in literature, which contributes to an understanding of how charity retailers consume space in and through the spatially fixed built environment. The chapter is part of the ongoing questioning, the process of moving beyond the existing literature and moving towards an alternative abstract (yet concrete) critique which offers a novel and original interpretation of the antagonistic reproduction of the charity retailer. As with the previous chapter, the theorisation continues in the abstract, with the following chapters incorporating increasingly concrete (yet always abstract) practice based research analysis, in a move from the general to the particular. To continue, we firstly move to examining how the charity retailer exists in and through the circuit of capital.

4.1.1: Charity Retailing & the Circuit of Capital

The charity retailer reproduces a circuit of capital which is predominantly based on the relation of:

$$M - C - M^1$$

Charity retailers reproduce through the money and commodity form. Through exchange of the money form for a commodity in a charity retailer, the M^1 is augmented in the form of profit. The relative aspects which reproduce this form of the charity retailer, such as the wage relation, the non-wage relation, the volunteer, the built environment and the charity retail patron each reproduce in and through the relation of:

$$C - M - C^1$$

These processes each interact separately, but combined they reproduce the charity retailing form. The paid members of charity retailing staff take money out of the M of the charity retailer, while they are donating their own C in the form of labour power. The volunteer, on the other hand, is directly donating their own C to the C of the charity retailer, without any exchange of M . Donors either contribute goods through the movement of C^1 to C , so that the charity retailer can exchange them for M^1 . The donor however, can also directly redistribute their wage, in the movement of the money form from M to M^1 . Those purchasing goods from the charity retailer offer their own M in exchange for the charity retailers C . The built environment interacts with the circuit of capital by reproducing as a dead labour C for charity retailing, through the realisation of their M . Each of these aspects then come together in the wider circuit of charity retailing, through $M - C - M^1$. Our attention now turns to the intricacies of the volunteer form within the circuit of capital.

4.2: The Volunteer Form: The Curious Practice of 'Free' Participation

Volunteers are undeniably an intrinsic element within the form of the so called 'third sector' in the United Kingdom. According to a 'national survey of volunteering and charitable giving' in 2007, formal volunteering was deemed to be worth £38.9 billion to the economy (2007: 15) and was defined as '*any activity which involves spending time,*

unpaid doing something which aims to benefit someone (individuals or groups) other than or in addition to close relatives, or to benefit the environment' (Cabinet Office, 2007: 10). Such volunteering is essential in assuring the daily reproduction of the charity retailer and although there has been some investigation into the characteristics of volunteers expressed 'in and through' this particular social form (Maddrell 2000, Horne & Broadbridge 1994, Whithear 1999, Goodall 2000), little has been done to conceptualise the position of the volunteer, as a form subsumed by, yet uncomfortable with, the technologies and consequences of capitalism. The volunteer is a fundamental component in the charity retailing form and its complexity and nuances are examined through the literature and data collected in more detail in chapter 5. However, prior to this analysis of the volunteering form relevant to the data collected for the purpose of this research, the notion of volunteering itself requires investigation. What constitutes a volunteer, how can volunteering be conceptualised?

4.2.1: The 'Value' of a Volunteer

The third sector defines itself as being 'diverse, active and passionate'⁸ with the organisations it represents each possessing similar characteristics, including being 'non-governmental, value-driven, [and which] principally reinvest any financial surpluses to further social, environmental or cultural objectives.'⁸ Of interest is the plethora of different definitions which can be attributed to the term 'value-driven'. In addition to the ideas of 'value' as being ethically sound, moralistic, profitable and non-discriminating organisations, the concept is of central importance in understanding the volunteer, as what Maddrell describes as 'a source of informal labour' (Maddrell, 2000: 138). In addition to the notion of the volunteer being of value to the particular parent charity through which they volunteer, surely this notion of value is a reciprocal one: the volunteer must also find 'value' in their engagement? How can the value of a volunteer be understood through the Marxist approach?

In *Capital*, Volume One (as discussed in Chapter 3.5.2) Marx demonstrates the dualistic nature of labour power:

'For the conversion of his money into capital, therefore the owner of money must meet in the market with the free labourer, free in the double sense, that as a free man

⁸ www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/third_sector/about_us.aspx

he can dispose of his labour-power as his own commodity, and that on the other hand he has no other commodity for sale, is short of everything necessary for the realisation of his labour-power' (Marx, 1983: 166).

Capital and labour reinforce each other through their unequal engagement in producing the commodity form. The capital gleaned respectively from the realisation of the commodity through exchange and the expenditure of labour power in return for a wage creates the fragile, fetishised value form through which the capitalist mode of reproduction exists (as detailed in chapter 3). The contradictory irony in this relation is that the freedom expressed by Marx is restricted: labour power is typically unable to choose the conditions of their own employment (even if they are disposing of their labour power as they choose) and their employment is necessary for their continued survival in society. Concomitantly the separation augments between the labourer and the owner of the means of production, the capitalist 'Mr Moneybags' (Marx, 1983: 172), as inequality and capital continues to expand globally. Gunn suggests that 'stasis exists in the Marxist conception, but it exists as struggle subsisting alienatedly, i.e. *in the mode of being denied*' (1992: 14). The word stasis could easily be substituted for equality, labour power, self-realisation, creativity or freedom...we all exist in the mode of being denied. The Smashing Pumpkins lyrics 'despite of my rage I am still just a rat in a cage'⁹, could be the mantra of the exploited labourer, raging for self-realisation, experiencing crisis daily and struggling against subordination, but caged in, denied. The freedom of the labourer is restrained and constantly reconstituted through the capitalist social form. However, Holloway suggests that through the form of abstract labour and its crisis, an alternative can be created through 'a struggle that is fundamentally asymmetrical to the struggle of capital and rejoices in that asymmetry: to do things in a difference way, to create different social relations, is a guiding principle'¹⁰ in the process of change, revolution and the action 'against'. Through volunteering does this position of subordination, the rat in the cage, find a different way of expressing their rage? Is volunteering an anti-action, one representing discomfort with society's reproduction, an asymmetric movement in the desire for change? Or are volunteers just another form of subsumed labour power? Can the

⁹ Smashing Pumpkins, 'Bullet with Butterfly Wings.'

www.azlyrics.com/lyrics/smashingpumpkins/bulletwithbutterflywings

¹⁰ Holloway, J. We are the Crisis of Abstract Labour. www.libcom.org

notion of the volunteer be understood as an accepted social construct (at face value), but one which questions the very substance of capitalism (beyond the positive, spectacular facade of the charity form)?

The Oxford English Dictionary provides the following definition of the term 'volunteer':

'Volunteer: (noun) 1. A person who freely offers to do something. 2. A person who willingly works for an organisation without being paid. (Verb) 1. Freely offer to do something' (2006: 1165).

By actively participating in volunteering, the dualistic nature of labour can be seen to take on an additional dimension; that alluded to in the title of section **4.2**, 'free' participation. The individual, for whatever reason, makes the decision to freely volunteer with a particular charity retailer. The volunteer then becomes an inherent element in the reproduction of the fetish. In volunteering (a fetishised notion itself), the volunteer contributes towards the fetishisation (through charity retailing) of the fetish (charity). Charity, through the form of charity retailing reproduces the capitalistic process of fetishisation, where 'relations between people appear as attributes of things and as relations of people to the social attributes of things' (Marx, 1972: 508). In this instance, the association of the volunteer body with the concept of 'charity' and all its positive associations of altruism, generosity, kindness etc, exist in and through the exchange of commodities. It can also be suggested that the notion of volunteering is a socially accepted form of expression, however in the capitalist mode of reproduction, of being denied, 'how we think is not innocent' (Gunn, 1992: 15), just as the 'independence of the individual is an illusion' (Marx, 1973L 163). Therefore the fetishisation of the volunteering form can be considered as one which is 'a product of a social *relation* [that of capitalist reproduction], not the product of a mere *thing*' (Marx, 1984: 391).

Lowy poses (and answers) the question '...how can people so deeply enmeshed in fetishism liberate themselves from the system? It is only by their practical experience of struggle that people can liberate themselves of fetish...the only true emancipation is self-emancipation' (2005: 24). Can volunteering be seen as struggle and emancipation? Volunteering is a definite action, an action desirous of implementing change, a struggle against the suffering induced by the capitalist mode of

reproduction, however this action is limited and restrained. The potential for self-emancipation, escaping from the process of fetishisation, achieving liberation cannot be realised as the charity retailer is a space of capitalism, reproducing in and through, but also against the capitalist mode of production. That is not to say that the volunteer as an individual derives no benefit from their involvement and interaction with the fetishised form of charity...

Volunteering may be a socially acceptable form of expression, but its reproduction has been created, manipulated and exploited as a construct of the capitalist social form. Indeed, the notion of volunteering presupposes a capitalist society where the wage labour relation is enforced. If no labour power was expended for a wage to ensure consumption and survival in society, there would be no need for the non-wage relation of the volunteer to exist at all. Bonefeld states that 'full-employment makes sense in a society where labour is no longer the measure of all things. In other words, full employment makes sense in a society where humanity exists not as an exploitable resource but as a purpose' (2001b: 60). Presently, humanity continues to be exploited as a resource and the non-existence of full employment results in the reproduction of capitalist society and therefore relations of class, inequality and unemployment. Separation in unity is reconstituted and surplus labour power exists in a sort of suspended animation, as part of the 'disposable industrial reserve army...a mass of human material always ready for exploitation' (Marx, 1983: 592). It is in the very best interest of capital to ensure that this situation of full employment is never realised and that the reserve army of labour power continues to reproduce in this dehumanising, antagonistically 'free' way.

The volunteer form, whether part of this reserve army of labour or not, must engage with a means of survival (state support, savings, pensions) as they are participating for 'free'. As Graeber suggests, 'whether it's the art world, or charity, or political engagement...we are speaking of ways that one can dedicate oneself to something other than the pursuit of money – and compensatory consumerism, if one does not possess a certain degree of wealth to start out with...one is simply not allowed to break into this world' (2005: 14). The charity retailing volunteer is doubly free once more- free to become a volunteer, but also free of the means of survival (through volunteering). The volunteer must engage with the money form in another manner,

independent of their reproduction of charity retail practices. The volunteer form therefore remains in a position of subordination.

It can be suggested that through this particular non-wage relation that the volunteer represents the epitome of capitalist reproduction. The labour power is expended and no wage is received, therefore the labour is 'free' to the charity. The fact that the labour is free is a positive position for the circuit of capital to find itself, even if the purpose of that labour is to negate repercussions of capitalism through a limited action of 'againstness'. To refer back to Graeber, although the labour is dedicated to this concept of charity, through the charity retailer, the volunteer is (antagonistically and contrary to his statement), dedicating themselves to the accumulation of money and consumerism. As discussed in chapter 3.6, charity is a capital relation and so too is the charity retailer through which charity is manifested. The charity retailer reproduces to accumulate as much profit as possible through consumerism (just as any other business) and not having to provide a wage for labour diminishes their reproduction costs significantly. This 'free' labour of the volunteer can be interpreted in several different ways.

Abstract labour is the source of value in circuit of capital (see section 3.3 and subsection 3.5.2), but does the abstract labour of the volunteer create value? It could be argued that through the non-wage relation the volunteers' abstract labour power is creating only surplus value for the parent charity, their use-value is expended but there is no exchange-value received. However, the abstract labour expended can also be seen as an exchange value which is gifted from the volunteer to the charity in the form of their time, effort and support. In this respect then, the volunteer is contributing to the realisation of the value of the merchandise sold by the charity retailer and not actually creating the value form. The charity can then obtain an exchange value through the sale of commodities through retailing. The latter is the perspective adopted, although from either point of view, through volunteering, the capitalist mode of production is active. But is the labour power expended abstract, value producing labour?

Kennedy states that 'labour power as a use-value-fulfilling activity can only realise its full potential if it frees itself from the constraints of abstract labour and, therefore,

from being the content of value' (2005: 110). The volunteers' choose to utilise their labour power for the purpose of a charity, but their labour power is still constrained and limited by the reproduction of the charity retailer itself. However, can the relation of the charity retailer and volunteer even be construed as labour power? De Angelis discusses how '...alienated labour, by presenting itself as power external to the worker, is "not voluntary but forced, it is *forced labour*"' (1995: 111-112). Through the expression of abstract labour in the circuit of capital, alien labour is produced. However, as the labourer who creates something which then becomes alien to them because they are subordinate to the wage labour relation and forced to labour, the volunteers' labour can be construed as voluntary. Therefore it neither creates surplus value, nor reproduces alienation. Therefore the volunteer, as labour power, has struggled against labour (as a source of value) and can realise an element of their personal creativity, through an experience which they enjoy and choose to do. There is a choice involved with charity retail volunteering, it is not essential for the reproduction of the circuit of capital and the volunteers' labour can be perceived as being more akin to human doing, rather than abstract labour: 'To *do* something over which we have no control is a completely different experience from *doing* something that we choose to *do*' (Holloway, 2010: 84).

Although, through charity retailing the volunteer may express their human doing, rather than abstract labour, may not as individuals be directly involved in the circuit of capital, may not create surplus value or alienation, they remain in a position of subordination. The volunteers' labour power (as previously mentioned) must be realised somehow and to ensure their survival, they must engage with the circuit of capital. Charity and charity retailing are also reproducing the circuit of capital, they are subsumed into the capitalist mode of existence. True human doing remains a denial and the volunteer form is representative of antagonisms, struggle and fetishisation. However, it is with the fetishised notion of the volunteer that the power within the charity retailer rests, in the form of their labour power (which is also human doing).

4.3: Spectacular Spaces of Consumption

The volunteer is truly a significant and intricate element within the form of the charity retailer, however these interrelated social forms would cease to exist if commodities ceased to be exchanged and customers discontinued purchasing. Consumption through the money form is an enforced social constraint (although to many it is an enjoyable yet constructed leisure activity), which is necessary for the continued, ensured survival of capitalism and the space of the capitalist charity retailer. Consumption is an important social practice, one inherent in the continuation of the circuit of capital, as money is exchanged, commodities are acquired and the surplus value of commodities is realised, accrued and reinvested. Consumption is necessary for the reproduction of capitalist society, the expansion of capital and the urban fabric it creates and destroys; therefore 'we must evaluate decisions about the growth of the city against a set of overriding cultural values' (Harvey, 1979: 85). The form of the charity retailer cannot be considered without devoting an element of the research to the continual reproduction of this 'culture' of consumption. The growth of the city form and the charity retailer in Edinburgh is considered in detail in chapter 6, however this sub-chapter is concerned with the notion of consumption as a creation which reflects 'cultural value' and reinforces separation in unity. Consumption of the commodity form can be viewed from a variety of perspectives, from the very basic consumption of food and water for survival, to the purchase of an indulgent luxury item, but from either position, the circuit of capital is reproduced.

As observed in the previous section relating to the volunteer form, the charity retailer subsists in and through the capital relation. Although consumption is not unique to capitalist methods of reproduction, its manifestation through exchange and the money form is. Capitalist reproduction has created a culture of consumers. Without the capitalist features of consumption and consumerism, it is unlikely that charity retailers would not continue to find expression and growth within the urban fabric, they would not exist. Just as charity (3.6) and volunteering (4.2) has become capitalist in particular ways, so has the retail market and the charity retailer within it. Jayne suggests that 'consumption is the prime organisational feature [of society]...consumerism has been spectacularly mediated' (2007: 2-3) in and through the present day urban form, where

consumption is unavoidable and constant. What does this consumption indicate for the form of the charity retailer, how does it affect their practices?

Debord observes in the 'Society of the Spectacle' that 'in societies dominated by modern conditions of production, life is presented as an immense accumulation of spectacles' (2005: 7) and that 'the fetishism of the commodity...attains its ultimate fulfilment in the spectacle' (2005: 19). Spectacle is represented as the fetishisation of the commodity form (see sub-section 3.5.3) and the continual process of commodification reproduces and the retail market. Thorns draws attention to the importance of 'the urban as spectacle, the greater concentration upon urban place making and inter-urban competition over the new growth agenda of consumption spaces- casinos, malls, towers, sports stadia, convention centres and so on' (2002: 6). These 'new' consumption spaces that Thorns alludes to are multifunctional, offering the opportunity to realise value through the exchange relation, with ease and accessibility. However, even though each individual is compelled to consume and can never achieve self-realisation within capitalism; there are those who are restricted consumers. Katznelson states that 'the consumption of this new mass culture went hand in hand with the development of segmented, regionalised group and class cultures...parts of the city became settlements of people sharing class attributes' (1992: 15), therefore consumption divides, and the class relation is exacerbated. The relationships of consumption became a practice within the social form, not directly causing, but indirectly contributing to the reproduction of the class relation. This further illustrates the antagonistic nature of capitalist reproduction and the existence of separation in unity.

As the notion of 'leisure' evolved in society, so too did the association of consumption with leisure, as an increasing amount of time was devoted to the pursuit of 'retail therapy', the culture of consumption emerged and the fetishism of the commodity became paramount. 'Leisure' and 'retail therapy' as familiar everyday terminology, are each constructs of capitalist reproduction. The spectacle of commodities and the desire to continually consume and accumulate material products is critically satirised in the following extract from the contemporary pop song 'The Fear' by Lily Allen.

'The Fear'

*'I want to be rich and I want lots of money
I don't care about clever I don't care about funny
I want loads of clothes and fuckloads of diamonds
I heard people die while they are trying to find them...*

*And I am a weapon of massive consumption
And it's not my fault it's how I'm programmed to function...*

*I don't know what's right and what's real anymore
And I don't know how I'm meant to feel anymore
When do you think it will all become clear
Cause I'm being taken over by the fear'.¹¹*

As much as Lily Allen and her lyrics recognise and lambaste the materialistic culture which enfolds us all, they are through their articulation in and through the music industry intertwined with capitalistic processes of reproduction. Although the lyrics are cynical, opposing the 'material relations between persons and social relations between things' (Marx, 1983: 78) which illustrate the spectacle of capitalist society, they are themselves an element of the process of commodification. They fail to indicate any struggle against the way in which society reproduces consumerism. Fisher notes that "'alternative" and "independent" don't designate something outside mainstream culture; rather, they are styles, in fact *the* dominant styles, within the mainstream' (2009: 9). To give an example, Fisher adopts the life of Kurt Cobain as someone who became 'another piece of spectacle' (2009: 9), which is what Lily Allen represents in the present day. Although she is openly negative and mistrusting of society's obsession with consumption, she is like Cobain, 'the new meat on which the system could feed' (2009: 9) and continues to feed.

Continuing in the realms of the music industry, this notion of feeding the system in combination with the spectacular can be observed through 'reality' television shows such as the X Factor, where entrants are required to show something 'special', to possess the 'X Factor'. Although contestants enter to showcase their talent and make themselves different from those they are competing against, throughout the course of the competition they too are under a gradual process of commodification, as they are

¹¹ <http://www.lilyallenmusic.com/lily/lyrics>

controlled by their 'mentors' and their individuality becomes relevant to what the public prefer, how the most votes can be secured and how revenue can be maximised, both for the show and in the future. It is how we are all 'programmed to function' (so we can't change?) in capitalist society, as 'weapons of massive consumption', where these apparent cultural norms fail to consider there is an alternative. Such consumption contributes to the domination of the commodity form, as Debord states 'The world of the commodity is thus shown for *what it is*, because its development is identical to people's *estrangement* from each other and from everything they produce' (2005: 19). The charity retailer is a consequence and a representation of both the estrangement and separation experienced in society, yet it is also intrinsically related to the commodification and consumption processes which reproduce. Indeed, the fetishisation of charity through the charity retailer engages unashamedly with the concept of the spectacular, as it can be seen as 'alternative' to non-charity retailing and 'independent' of them due to association with a charity. The charity retailer however, is not alternative, it is not independent of fetishisation, but embroiled within the capitalist mode of consumption. Their position as a now prevalent retail space across the streets of the United Kingdom and their commercialisation has ensured that they are now, like Allen, Cobain and those X Factor contestants, individual but not unique, spectacular but mainstream.

Many cultures of consumption are apparent in the texture of the city form and in the present day the charity retailer has experienced something of a rebirth, with increasingly more retailers operating successfully, the second hand stigma has diminished (although to what extent it is difficult to ascertain) and the demand for vintage and retro items has increased simultaneously. The mediums of consumption are consistently changing, with the recent onset of internet shopping and the movement in the 1970s from the High Streets to out of town locations. This relocation within the retail market proved critical for the emergence of the charity retailer, as space became available for occupation in the High Streets of Britain, which were rapidly considered less prime and increasingly secondary as a retail destination, yet they provided suitable and less costly premises for charities. The charity retailers themselves have evolved to become more competitive within the retail market following their 'professionalisation' which began in the 1990s and although many

retain their original elements and values, their identities as mechanisms for consumption have radically altered. Specialist book and furniture stores have been introduced, charities now run bridal and designer fashion boutiques. In response to this growing professionalisation, destigmatisation within the charity retailing form was experienced. Shop numbers increased, charity retailers moved to different locations and adopted a more corporate like approach to their reproduction, introducing paid members of staff and encouraging profit maximisation through target setting and the introduction of new, bought in goods for sale. Concurrently, vintage fashion was in demand from consumers and there was a new impetus to reuse and recycle as 'green' and 'ethnic' initiatives infused society (see Chapter 5 for detail on the reconstitution of charity retailing). The social form of the charity retailer is, like all other practices in capitalist society, constantly in a state of flux and redefinition, tension and acquiescence, diverse yet regulated.

Jayne devotes a segment of his book, 'Cities and Consumption', to the analysis of what he terms, 'the second hand city'. He describes 'one of the most startling contrasts that is present in the urban 'consumptionscape' is the relationship between the neatly stacked shelves of the supermarket, or the neatly folded and ordered rationality of the high-street stores, and second-hand shopping' (2007: 110). Of course, by making reference to second-hand shopping he refers to other retail mediums in addition to the charity-shop, such as car boot sales and discount shopping, but asserts that work on increasing the understanding of these social forms is essential. He introduces the spatial relationship through place, stating that 'the second-hand world constitutes a means of knowing place, being in place and encountering place' (Jayne, 2007: 112) and that within this place, the charity retailer are highly similar to other 'standardised' retail outlets, as they 'attempt to do retail properly' (Jayne, 2007: 111). Jayne's reading of the charity retailer akin to that of car boot sales, proves problematic due to a number of assertions which he makes, specifically that 'the practices of second-hand shopping are ones that are generally intended to be a radically different experience from first-hand shopping' (2007: 111-12), which dismisses the standardisation and professionalisation that has occurred with the charity retailing niche market in the last decade. Such charity retailers are 'attempting' to ensure that the experience is not

radically different, something which is again reinforced by the introduction of bought in and fair trade merchandise.

Although there is of course a moral and personal aspect to patronising charity retailers, Jayne is inclined to generalise with inaccurate observations like the previous quote. Another example of this is that 'knowing place through second-hand spaces can be akin to being confined in spaces that only allow access to goods that ultimately reinforce social exclusion' (Jayne, : 112). Although Gregson and Crewe agree that 'second-hand goods (and retail spaces) can be a site of alienation...that to be compelled through force of circumstance to consumer second-hand goods is to be excluded from that which is desired, participation in the "consumer society"' (2003: 12), participation with second-hand retailers is within the consumer society, rather than excluded from it. Consumption itself in *all* spaces is an ongoing process within capitalist reproduction, which has created and will continue to perpetuate the class relation and social exclusion, there cannot be an external or internal point of view, consumption is everywhere and in everything. Jayne (and to an extent Gregson and Crewe also) appears to be implying that those who lead 'economically restricted lives' only engage in the exchange relation through second-hand consumptive spaces, which is an implausible suggestion.

However Gregson and Crewe do recognise that 'consumption is about social relations' (2003: 12) and refer to the complexities in society and the process of commodification: 'The use of things, then, is not a straightforward, linear and finite act of objectification...but something that may encompass multiple temporalities (and spatialities) of possession, that may involve multiple social subjects and contrasting- of at the very least changing- cultural milieux' (2003: 10). Further reference to the development of the urban form is made through the analysis of 'culture'. Zukin suggests that 'the most productive analyses of cities in recent years are based on interpretations and interpenetrations of culture and power' (1996: 43). The title of Gregson and Crewe's book, 'Second-Hand Cultures', indicates the cultural importance of charity retailers (see Chapter 4) and how 'second-hand sites have been identified as critical in building up stocks of grounded knowledge about practices of consumption and their variation across particular sites.' A more detailed theoretical analysis of the practices and form of the charity retailing space is required, to avoid general

observations such as those of Jayne, thus providing a depth of understanding. Further consideration to the space of the charity retailer is detailed in the following sections, from the perspectives of Lefebvre and Foucault.

4.4: In Consideration of 'Space'

Capitalist society, fragile and unstable, based on the realisation of value through the wage labour relation and continually changing discourses of power, finds representation in and through the spatial form. As capitalism consistently has to alter to ensure ideological survival, its contradictions are expressed in one form via the development of the urban. In society today 'we do not live, act and work 'in' space so much as by living, acting and working we produce space' (Smith, 1990: 85) and it is through production of this space that the charity retailer has developed. There is no structured hierarchy of control, no base/superstructure dichotomy, no iron fist of power, but ongoing interconnected social practices. By 'conceiving of space as a static slice through time...as a closed system and so forth are all ways of taming it' (Massey, 2005: 59) and through capitalist reproduction, society is tamed daily. Space is an open, fluid concept. As Marx tells us, 'the essence of man is...the ensemble of...social relations' (1998: 570) and the social relations reproducing in and through the spatial in Britain specifically have resulted in the development of the contradictory space of charity retailing. Aspects of these practices now need to be addressed.

4.4.1: Lefebvre's Spatial Triad

Any discussion of the reproduction of space would prove incomplete without recognising the work of French Marxist, Henri Lefebvre, who promoted the concept of social space and its undeniable connection with spatial practices. In his publication 'The Production of Space' (1991) Lefebvre introduces a conceptual triad of space, through which the social form of the charity retailer can be observed. In adopting the spatial discourses presented by Lefebvre relative to charity retailing, its usefulness in furthering the understanding of the form can be assessed.

1: ‘*Spatial practice*, which embraces production and reproduction, and the particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of each social formation. Spatial practice ensures continuity and some degree of cohesion. In terms of social space, and of each number of a given society’s relationship to that space, this cohesion implies a guaranteed level of *competence* and a specific level of *performance*’ (1991: 33).

- As a consequence of the deforming/reforming of the urban landscape the form of the charity retailer has evolved and is expressed in the city today as an indelible spatial aspect of the retail market.
- Continuity and cohesion exists within each charity represented in the urban form, a level of competence and performance is achieved and maintained, otherwise the charity retailer would be less of a retail presence. Charity retailers have now become representative of capitalist methods of reproduction and are now profit maximisers.
- The regulation and the redistribution of profits within society through the parent charity, now has local, national and potentially global effects. This is another example of the cohesion and performance aspects of the space. It also illustrates the particular social formation of charity retailers in the twenty-first century.
- As a social space the charity retailer reproduces through the volunteer mechanism (as discussed in 4.2), a space where labour power is expended but no wage is received and the capitalist relation is reproduced. There are however, potential issues within volunteer relationships regarding competence, as performance issues cannot be addressed in the same manner as it would be with paid staff.
- Also there is the question of whether performance levels within the charity retailer are unrealistic and unsustainable. However performance and competence are both such subjective notions, it is difficult to offer any ‘guarantees’ of performance in the capitalist social form.
- Charity retailers are a social tradition within Britain. They are directly involved in the culture of giving and consuming through charity, they represent a space of consumption, commodification and fetishisation.

2: ‘Representations of space, which are tied to the knowledge, to signs, to codes and ‘order’ which those relations impose, and hence to knowledge, to signs, to codes and to ‘frontal’ relations.’ (1991: 33).

- Charity retailers can be observed as an ‘ordered’ yet chaotic space, with interesting relations of reproduction due to the realisation of value on donated goods and the volunteering mechanisms.
- ‘Order’ can be observed through the power of the volunteering body, as the shop can be compromised and the order disrupted in a negative way if volunteer/staff numbers are insufficient.
- The ‘sign’ of the charity represented, the importance of symbolism and the effect that altruistic/guilt mechanisms have on the patrons. This point is again related to the fetishisation of charity and the spectacle associated with its reproduction in society.
- The idea of the charity as a ‘frontal’ relationship- see table 9 overleaf.

Table 9: Five Charities Compared: Income from Charity Retailing as a % of Total Net Income.¹²

Charity	Year	Retail Income £m	Retail Cost £m	Net Retail Income £m	Total Net Income of Parent Charity £m	Trading Income as % of Total Income
X	2006	23.4	21.8	1.6	154.8	1.03%
	2007	25.4	23.4	2.0	161.0	1.24%
	2008	27.3	25.5	1.8	165.3	1.08%
	2009	30.6	26.6	4.0	174.3	2.29%
Y	2007	74.6	62.1	12.5	89.9	13.93%
	2008	82.3	68.2	14.1	97.6	14.45%
	2009	94.3	78.6	15.7	96.5	16.35%
Z	2005	13.4	12.4	0.99	63.6	1.57%
	2006	14.4	13.8	0.51	70.9	0.72%
	2007	14.6	13.9	0.74	74.0	0.99%
	2008	14.5	14.1	0.36	80.9	0.44%
	2009	15.2	14.6	0.59	96.1	0.62%
A	2005	71.5	52.5	19.0	182.0	10.44%
	2006	74.7	56.3	18.4	233.0	7.89%
	2007	75.8	60.0	15.8	206.7	7.64%
	2008	77.7	60.6	17.1	215.5	7.94%
	2009	79.3	62.9	16.4	225.5	7.27%
B	2005	21.0	22.3	-1.26	74.4	-1.69%
	2006	21.8	22.7	-0.99	85.1	-1.16%
	2007	20.8	22.4	-1.61	87.7	-1.83%
	2008	20.6	23.7	-3.06	89.7	-3.42%

- The table above demonstrates how much five different charities each profit from their charity retailers over the course of several years. As it can be observed, charity Bs shops are operating at a loss and the income from charity retailers X and Z is negligible when considered as a % of the total net income. Even when considering Y, whose charity retailers in 2009 represented 16.35% of the total net income, the income from stores is not a dominant feature of any of the 5 charities detailed. The ‘frontal’ relationship acts as a reminder of the charity and its cause, a constant presence within the urban form. The space of the charity retailer is a representation of the charity, it is an accessible

¹² Respective charities financial reports for specific years, the charities themselves will remain anonymous.

yet limited form, but most importantly from the position of 'representations of space', the charity retailer is a visual component within the urban form.

- The income/cost ratios of the charity retailers listed illustrates that if they were in a position where they were no longer predominantly reliant upon the volunteer form they would not be able to compete, or survive within the capitalist retailing environment. Costs would increase significantly and become unmanageable.

3: '*Representational spaces, embodying complex symbolisms, sometimes coded, sometimes not, linked to the clandestine or underground side of social life*' (1991: 33).

- Charity retailers are a complex symbol of their parent charity, providing a medium for direct interaction with society through donation/purchasing within the charity retailer, but this also indicates an indirect relationship with the ultimate benefactors of the profit accrued.
- Media and marketing techniques adopted by charities arouse feelings of guilt and altruism through symbolism, when the 'underground' purpose of the charity can be addressed, something which is not obvious within the charity retailers themselves. This may indicate that consumers are unwilling to recognise the extreme difficulties caused by the capitalist mode of reproduction.
- Charity retailers are linked to the so-called clandestine side of life through volunteer opportunities for community services, reintegration and rehabilitation programmes. Charity retailers act as an alternative medium of the welfare state and an extension of the state form.
- Can there ever be a clandestine/underside of social life though? Everything is interconnected and relational, there is no benefit to separating the diverse social forms and practices through classifying into categories, such as 'clandestine' or the 'underside'.

Charity retailers can be considered as each of the three aspects of the triad, spaces of social practice, representations of space and representational spaces. However, although these concepts prove useful in stimulating the thought process relative to the conceptualisation of charity retailers and there is a benefit in recognising that the

charity retailer can be understood as each particular 'space', by doing so there is an element of classification involved, indicating closed categories. Rather, the three 'spaces' can be conceptualised as a moving contradiction of spatial practices, where representations of space (as subordination) and representational spaces (as insubordination) exist in, through and against each other. In determining the social form as open and fluid, the charity retailer can be all of these elements of the triptych at once, or none at all. Therefore, by realising that the charity retailer is a fluid form, each component of the tripartite can contribute to the understanding of this particular social practice.

4.4.2: *The Charity retailer as a Heterotopia?*

The French philosopher Michel Foucault introduced the use of the medical term 'heterotopia' into the realms of the spatial thought through a 1967 lecture, 'Des Espace Autres'. It is Foucault's concept 'Of Other Spaces', which is examined in relation to the charity retailer, to ascertain whether the heterotopic can increase critical understanding of this novel cultural form. Heterotopic, or other spaces are 'absolutely different...in such a way as to suspect, neutralize, or invent the set of relations that they happen to designate, mirror or reflect'¹³, (1967). They are unique, alternative spaces. Foucault however, provided only minimal literature on the concept of heterotopia itself therefore it has been widely interpreted and also heavily criticised as 'frustratingly incomplete, inconsistent, incoherent' (Soja, 1996: 162). The principles which indicate a Foucauldian heterotopic space and the concept itself are both critiqued and assessed from the perspective of the charity retailer as an alternative retail space.

Charity retailers are a ubiquitous presence within Britain's urban form today and their development in and through the retail market has been unprecedented. However, whether this particular antagonistic 'ensemble of the social relations' (Marx, 1998, 570) reflects the concept of a 'heterotopic' space is questionable. The Foucauldian concept of 'heterotopia' has been examined as the term has found conceptual relevance in recent years in the paradigms of human geography (Harvey, 1989) and sociology (Hetherington, 1997). It potentially offers a critical insight into the evolution

¹³ Foucault, M. (1967) 'Des Espace Autres' translated by Miskowiec, J.
<http://foucault.info/documents/heteroTopia/foucault.heteroTopia.en.html>

and presence of the charity retailer, enhancing conceptual understanding. A recent publication, 'Heterotopia and the City: Public space in a postcivil society' (Dehaene & De Cauter, 2008) proved the catalyst for considering the charity retailer as a heterotopic space within the city form. The research critiques the concept of heterotopia relevant to charity retailers, from an open Marxist perspective.

A significant limitation of Foucault's 'Of Other Spaces', is that it recounts a structured, closed, all encompassing theoretical statement, which fails to account for the interconnected forms of society and provides a categorisation within which many different 'sites' can be represented and understood as heterotopic. Foucault presents a 'sort of systematic description...that would...take as its object the study, analysis, description and "reading" of these different spaces, of these other places' (1967). To this end, he offers six principles in determining a space to be heterotopic, which can be readily related to the charity retailer, determining the space as one of 'difference' (1967), as detailed below.

'1: There is probably not a single culture in the world that fails to constitute heterotopias. Crisis heterotopias, privileged or sacred or forbidden places reserved for individuals who are, in relation to society....in a state of crisis. Heterotopias of crisis are disappearing today and are being replaced by heterotopias of deviation: Those in which individuals whose behaviour is deviant in relation to the required mean or norm are placed.

2: A society, as its history unfolds, can make an existing heterotopia function in a very different fashion; for each heterotopia has a precise and determined function within a society and the same heterotopia can...have one function or another.

3: The heterotopia is capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible. The garden is the smallest parcel of the world and then it is the totality of the world.

4: Heterotopias are most often linked to slices in time- which is to say that they open onto what might be termed, for the sake of symmetry, heterochronies...when men arrive at a sort of absolute break with their traditional time.

5: Heterotopias always presuppose a system of opening and closing that both isolates them and makes them penetrable...the heterotopic site is not freely accessible like a public place.

6: The last trait of heterotopias is that they have a function in relation to all the space that remains. Either their role is to create a space of illusion that exposes every real space, all the sites inside of which human life is partitioned as still more illusory. Or else, on the contrary, their role is to create a space that is other, another real space, as perfect, as meticulous, as well arranged as ours is messy, ill constructed and jumbled. This latter type would be the heterotopia, not of illusion, but of compensation.' (Foucault, 1986: 24-27).

More detail on how the charity retailer can be considered a heterotopia relative to the 6 key points above, can be found in appendix 2.

However, it can be suggested that these six principles, rather than offering enlightenment as to what constitutes a heterotopic space, merely fetishises space. It provides a typology of space, thereby undermining the relational, antagonistic processes reproducing in and through them. Foucault also speaks of 'external' space and those which are 'simultaneously represented, contested and inverted. Places of this kind are outside of all places, even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality...these places are absolutely different from all the sites that they reflect and speak about, I shall call them...heterotopias.' The idea of representation, contestation and inversion reflects the many spaces realised through social relations, but there can be no such position as 'absolutely different' due to the interrelations which reproduce the spaces, they are each interconnected, open and involved with society and each other. The notion of charity retailers as a 'counter-site' can be expressed through the alternative final destinations of the profit to charitable causes, although this all occurs within the global circuit of capital. The charity retailer is not opposing, or countering the capitalist form through its spatial representation.

4.4.3: In Pursuit of the 'Heterotopic'

In 'Of Other Spaces', Foucault begins by defining the Twentieth Century as 'the epoch of space' (1986: 22), where 'we live inside a set of relations that delineates sites which are irreducible to one another and absolutely not superimposable on one another' (1986: 23). Following his introduction of the interpretation of space, he suggests that society reproduces 'counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia' (1986: 23), which can be called heterotopic. Six principles are presented which determine a space to be heterotopic; each of these can be readily related to the charity retailer, determining the space as one of difference. These principles represent a structured, closed, all encompassing theoretical statement, which fails to account for the interconnected forms of society and provides a categorisation within which many different sites can be represented and understood as heterotopic. Foucault presents a 'sort of systematic description...that would...take as its object the study, analysis, description and "reading" of these different spaces, of these other places' (1986: 24). However, it can be suggested that these six principles, rather than offering enlightenment as to what constitutes a heterotopic space, merely fetishises space. They provide a typology of space, thereby undermining the relational, antagonistic processes reproducing in and through them. Each principle exists as a box which must be ticked in order for a space to be heterotopic.

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Heynen (2008: 311) asserts that 'one is tempted to conclude...that heterotopia is too slippery a term to be of any fundamental significance in the discourse on space and culture'. Nevertheless, Heynen (ibid: 322) suggests that 'heterotopias are

constellations of the in-between', a position which is also recognised by Hetherington (1997). Hetherington's position can be interpreted as open and fluid, as he recognises connected practices and processes, defining 'heterotopia ...as spaces of alternate ordering...between ideas of freedom and ideas of control or discipline' (Hetherington, 1997: x). Social ordering is recognised as 'an uncertain process' (Ibid: 9), as is capitalist reproduction, with society constantly in flux. Hetherington's approach appreciates that capitalist society is continually deforming/reforming to counteract the crises it creates and that it is fragile, unstable and uncertain.

Although Hetherington accepts the divisions and uncertainties present in society, his critical writing fails to demonstrate the existence of separation-in-unity and contradictory social relations. Marx specifies in the *Grundrisse* that 'it is not the *unity* of living and active humanity...which requires explanation...but rather the *separation* between these inorganic conditions of human existence' (1973: 489). Hetherington's approach is not grounded such antagonisms. He suggests that 'ordering and disordering go together, as do centres and margins, in ways that are tangled, uncertain and topologically complex' (Ibid: 7). Although this quote illustrates the open, interconnected relations within society they do not go together as such, but are one and the same. Contradictory relations are ordered and disordered at the same time as they exist in and through each other. Hetherington mirrors the separation in capitalism and refers to these spaces of ordering as independent sites, spaces separated and independent of each other, rather than interconnected spaces which exist in and through each other. The relations which constitute and transform these spaces are not accounted for and although Hetherington recognises uncertainty in processes, there is no acknowledgement of the continual subordination/insubordination or the potential for transcendence beyond these 'heterotopic' ordered spaces. Holloway advocates that because 'humanity exists as subordination means that it exists also as insubordination' (2002a: 149) and that the urban form is constantly reconstituted 'in the whole separating of doing and done that constitutes capitalist society' (Ibid). Hetherington disregards the antagonistic nature of the spaces themselves.

Foucault provides a plethora of examples of heterotopic space including prisons, retirement homes, the ship, brothels, colonies, motels, cemeteries and gardens.

Charity retailers could be added to this list, as each of the spaces referred to appear to be inherent to the reproduction of everyday life even though they are each created and their existence perpetuated (or indeed destroyed) by capitalist reproduction. These places become subsumed into the built environment and illustrate the continual destroying and reforming that colours capitalist society, not just these so-called places of otherness. Sohn suggests that 'heterotopia is best exposed as a condition that generically suggests a simultaneous state of spatial and morphological anomaly' (Dehaene & De Cauter, 2008: 43). Nevertheless, these heterotopic spaces proposed by Foucault cannot each be considered an anomaly, spatially or morphologically. They represent the interconnected capitalist urban form, reproduced by society through separation and subordination. From an open Marxist perspective, there is antagonism between the concepts of heterotopic otherness and the common experience of place, but this does not signify a unique departure into difference for a particular space, it merely illustrates the ongoing tensions and processes within capitalist spatial representations. Such tensions are present within the charity retailing form, as in all other spaces reproducing in and through the capitalist relation. This differs from the conclusions drawn by Sohn (Ibid: 49) that 'spatial heterotopias are *exceptions* that differ so greatly from all categories that they cannot be fitted and fixed into any rigid taxonomy'. However by imposing Foucault's six principles, surely the heterotopic is already positioned within a prescribed taxonomy?

Dehaene and De Cauter (2008: 6), state 'we have to overcome a...problematic pitfall that travellers in heterotopia have to face: when putting on heterotopian spectacles, everything tends to take on heterotopian traits'. Such a quote can be interpreted as recognising what Hetherington failed to; that space is contradictory and can at once be different, yet similar. However, Dehaene and De Cauter's discussion of heterotopic space only succeeds in emphasising its indistinct character and again neglects antagonisms existing in and through spaces. Heterotopic spaces are universalised by Dehaene and De Cauter to include architecture, shopping malls, gated communities, wastelands and urban voids, neighbourhoods, camps and the cinema. These identities are allocated to spaces by describing them as heterotopias without adding anything substantive to the critique of these spaces. If the charity retailer is acknowledged as a heterotopic space what does that indicate? If indeed 'heterotopia is everywhere'

(Dehaene and De Cauter, 2008: 5) surely the concept is limited? It illustrates and defines unique spaces, providing principles through which this difference can be expressed and understood, yet in existing literature offers no representation of the intricate social forms reproducing the sites. The way forward is to further understanding through acknowledging and investigating the social forms which reproduce heterotopic spaces. In recognising a space as heterotopic, it must simultaneously be recognised as non-heterotopic, as something which cannot be understood in isolation, restricted by the boundaries of six static, seemingly unconnected principles.

There is no doubt that understanding the complexities and antagonisms within the 'space' of the charity retailer is challenging and the previous sub-chapters have only touched upon a small amount of the literature and conceptualisations relevant to the understanding of space. In this interpretation, the charity retailer cannot be considered a unique, heterotopic space. A space can never just be considered as 'unique', it cannot be unique without at the same time being not unique. This research does not wish to generalise the analysis of the charity retailer or indeed the city form through meta-theorising, but set out to assess specific literature to augment understanding of the particular form of the charity retailer within Britain at this time. The research, as the charity retailer itself, is merely a moment in the ongoing reproduction of society. Lefebvre's triad conceptualising 'space' proved a useful approach to analysing the form of the charity retailer: in investigating the charity retailing practices within this space, particular nuances relative to it emerged and could be developed. However, in adopting the ideas of Foucault's heterotopic space, it was discovered that by attaching the moniker of 'heterotopia' to this particular social form it failed to enhance understanding of the charity retailer. However, the charity retailer does unavoidably consume space, a space reproduced by the interaction of the volunteer non-wage relation and the wage labour relation. How then does this space of volunteering, of wages, of retailing, of charity, exist in the urban form realised by capitalism?

4.5: Consuming Space: The Urban Form

‘Urbanism may be regarded as a particular form or patterning of the social process. This process unfolds in a spatially structured environment created by man. The city can therefore be regarded as a tangible, built environment- an environment which is a social product.’ Harvey, (1979: 196).

The landscape of the city is one which successfully captures the imagination, not only as an important domain for the reproduction of the built environment, or an image indicating significance within local, national and even global communities, but one which represents the social practices continually deforming and reforming within the urban form. It is, as Harvey suggests, a social product. The uneven global development of capitalism has created the urban form of the last century and it is through this urban space that the charity retailer evolved, indeed ‘the built environment for urban people is the locus of the social’ (Byrne, 2001: 149). The social and spatial forms of capitalism are interconnected and exist in and through each other, as discussed in chapter 3.5.4. The consideration of ‘spatiality’ is therefore essential in the context of the charity retailer, from the wider perspective of the city itself to the minutiae of the retailing space. The importance of the urban form cannot be understated in this theorisation of the charity retailer. The urban form, the built environment, the city and the processes of consumption each embrace and destroy the charity retailing form represented in and through bricks and mortar. The property relation is continually in flux and is antagonistically implicated with the money and labour form.

Rather than approaching the charity retailer as a space *within* capitalist Britain, the analysis is concerned with spaces *of capitalist charity retailing*, which can no longer be dismissed as a marginal aspect of society. This section will analyse the literature relevant to space, and urban form, relating each to the charity retailer and its antagonistic form. The urban form has been examined and theorised by a multitude of academic disciplines; sociologists, feminists, economists, postmodernists to name but a few, however it is the assessment of the urban and the charity retailer within it, from the position of a Marxist geographer that is fundamental throughout this sub-section. This is not an anachronistic perspective: In defiance of Lash and Urry’s (1994:1)

supposition that 'the 1980s have surely sealed Marx's coffin for good and confined him and his monstrous books to the dustbin of history...That society and those contradictions [of capitalism] have unequivocally gone forever', the continued relevance of Marxist literature in the twenty-first century illustrates the ongoing, crisis ridden contradictions of the capitalist mode of production and the urban form it realises.

4.5.1: *The City Form: An Intelligible Maelstrom?*

Mumford suggests that 'the city in its complete sense, then, is a geographical plexus, an economic organisation, an institutional process, a theatre of social action, and an esthetic symbol of collective unity' (1938: 480). This definition remains appropriate as an overview, a descriptive definition of the city today. However, can a city ever be truly defined? To wholly concur with Mumford is to readily accept the city as a complete form, a totality, rather than something fluid, which is consistently changing and therefore can never be regarded as a complete entity. The reference to the 'theatre' of social action indicates an element of the spectacular, which is undoubtedly apparent within the city form, although there are many social practices which can be considered as spectacular. Each city is distinguishable by an abundance of social differentiated and contradictory social relations and spatial practices, reproducing the economic, social, political and urban form and to generalise this as 'social action' fails to recognise the importance of social processes. The urban is a maelstrom, a network, each city individual yet similar. The city form cannot be interpreted as one of collective unity, without also being one of difference, enforcing separation upon the society within it.

In capitalism, 'we' within the city landscape, the urban form, exist and reproduce this existence of separation-in-unity through the wage labour relationship. We are commodities, separated from our means of production and subsistence, expending labour power to obtain a wage of nominal value which is then utilised to consume, ensuring the perpetuation of the capitalist relation and a subordinate existence, separate but unified in and through the social form. As Marx states in the *Grundrisse*, 'it is not the *unity* of living and active humanity...which requires explanation...but rather the *separation* between these inorganic conditions of human existence and this

active existence, a separation which is completely posited only in the relation of wage labour and capital' (1973: 489). By examining the definition of the city as proposed by Mumford, the complexity and intricacies inherent within the capitalist urban form become apparent, demonstrating the difficulties in the analyses of the city, its spatial and social form. As Katznelson observes, with reference to Mumford, 'there is tendency to concentrate on urban form rather than on the substance of such key processes as state building or capitalist development that gives cities shape and meaning' (1992: 6). The city is indeed a maelstrom, as each urban form across the world representing the flows of capital from the global to the local exists as both an individual yet indistinguishable form of the built environment.

It would be impossible to offer a 'complete' analysis of the city form, as it is constantly in flux, but through investigation of the uneven development of capitalism and the urban form that it has created Marxist geographers such as Harvey, Lefebvre and Smith addressed the problem of understanding the urban space. This is a process which continues today as 'the city is a text, it is written as well as read, (re)constructed as well as (re)interpreted, and (re)produced as well as consumed' (Short et al, 1993: 208) and therefore requires constant reassessment.

It is not surprising that the urban form has become such a predominant component of capitalist society, as 'capital by its nature drives beyond every spatial barrier. Thus the creation of the physical conditions of exchange... - the annihilation of space by time - becomes an extraordinary necessity for it' (Marx, 1973: 524) to reproduce. Although society and the physical conditions of exchange and production have altered and developed in recent centuries as industry and technology has progressed, (much to the dismay of Lash and Urry) capitalist reproduction continues to expand and therefore so too does its critique. It can be suggested that the processes experienced in Britain during the period of the industrial revolution can be observed in the rural-urban migration occurring in present day countries such as China. The introduction and continued reconstitution of primitive accumulation and the expansion capitalist reproduction continues today. Social and urban forms are being forcibly ruptured, altered and subordinate to capital. Harvey notes that 'the drive to relocate to more advantageous places (the geographical movement of both capital and labour) periodically revolutionises the international and territorial division of labour, adding a

vital geographical dimension to the insecurity' (1989: 106) of capitalism. The global mercantile capitalism of the sea traders in the Middle Ages can find expression in the financial trading systems of the twenty-first century, where the recent worldwide recession and crisis of overaccumulation was conceived, demonstrating the precarious and fragile nature of capitalism. When considering space, therefore, the temporal medium cannot be ignored. As with the interconnected nature of capitalist society, time and space are inseparable forms, existing in tension. Harvey suggests this relation has become one of 'time-space compression' (1989: 240), due to the rapid evolution of the spatial form, the accelerated changes in society that illustrate the mode of capitalist reproduction, deforming and reforming in its constant attempt to enforce subordination

4.5.2: Class & the Urban Form

The social relations of power and the representative concrete form different relations of power can produce are reflected in and through the built environment. The class relation can be observed through the spatiality of the urban form. Lefebvre states that: 'space commands bodies', (1991: 121), just as bodies command space. As the economic, political, social and environmental aspects of society reproduce, the wage labour relation is actively reproducing the enduring class relations and the impoverishment created by and desirous of the capitalist forms. We know that capitalist reproduction 'values' the labour (through prescribed use and exchange values) of some more than others, many receive significantly higher (and many significantly lower) wages, through the money form. As labour power is in a position of propertylessness, the money form they receive engages with the built environment, therefore the urban form is indicative of the class relation. Examples of the class relation in the urban form are not difficult to conjure up: examples include high rise council estates and on the opposite end of the spectrum, the gated mansions of millionaires. The built environment is a canvass upon which the class relation is painted. Inequality continues to become increasingly extreme, however as mentioned in chapter 3.4, we are all subordinate to the capitalist mode of production, our subordination merely takes different urban forms.

Globally it is difficult to know accurately how many people live in poverty, although it is estimated that in 2007, '2.6 billion—40 percent of the world's population—[was] living on less than US\$2 a day' and within America in 2009 the number of people in poverty numbered 43.6 million 'the largest number in the 51 years for which poverty estimates have been published'¹⁴. The Communist Manifesto states that 'every form of society has been based, as we have already seen, on the antagonism of oppressing and oppressed classes...The modern labourer...becomes a pauper, and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth.' Charity retailers such as Oxfam exist to work against and negate such effects of poverty and although they are attempting to counteract the consequences of capitalism worldwide, their local presence and its effects are also questionable. It is the consistent and irresponsible reproduction of such consequences in capitalist society that necessitated the creation of the welfare state and it could be argued, the space of the charity retailer within relations of class and the urban form. (This is assessed in later chapters: see chapters 5 and 6).

Capitalist society, fragile and unstable, based on the realisation of value through the wage labour relation and continually changing discourses of power, finds representation in and through the spatial form. As capitalism consistently has to alter to ensure ideological survival, its contradictions are expressed in one form via the development and reconstitution of the urban. In society today 'we do not live, act and work 'in' space so much as by living, acting and working we produce space' (Smith, 1990: 85) and it is through production of this space that the charity retailer has developed. By 'conceiving of space as a static slice through time...as a closed system and so forth are all ways of taming it' (Massey, 2005: 59) and through capitalist reproduction, society is tamed daily, struggle is smothered and subordination reasserted. However, there is no structured hierarchy of control, no base/superstructure dichotomy, no iron fist of power, no closed system, but ongoing interconnected social practices. Space is an open, fluid concept. As Marx tells us, 'the essence of man is...the ensemble of...social relations' (1998: 570) and the social relations reproducing in and through the spatial in Britain specifically have resulted in the development of the contradictory space of charity retailing.

¹⁴ <http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/poverty/about/overview/index.html>

4.6: Chapter Summary

This chapter has considered the antagonistic space of the charity retailer, not just the space which it exists in, through and against (such as the urban form section **4.5**) but it has also offered theoretical critique, in the discussion of Lefebvre (the spatial triad, sub-section **4.4.1**) and Foucault (heterotopia, sub-sections **4.4.2** and **4.4.3**). Each of these notions were useful in approaching the space of the charity retailer, although much of the interpretation offered for the notion of heterotopia failed to recognise contradictions and the fluidity of the spatial. In defining a space as a heterotopia, it is also a space of non-heterotopia. As with Lefebvre's triad of space, rather than each being separate, spatial practice, representations of space and representational spaces are each existing in and through each other. The charity retailer was also considered as a spectacular space of consumption, one which has been created by and continues to be reproduced because of capitalist relations of production.

In addition to this, the antagonistic nature of the volunteer form was discussed (section **4.2**) and the volunteer was revealed as a form which exists as human doing, but a human doing which can also be construed as its opposite, labour power. The volunteer form is mediated by the capitalist mode of reproduction, through charity and charity retailing, it is truly in and against capital. The following chapter continues the progression from the abstract to the concrete, with the historical development of the charity retailer and the labour processes which reproduce it central to the discussion.

Chapter 5:

The Contradictory (Re)constitution of Charity Retailing

5.1: The Evolving Charity Retailer

The purpose of this research is an intervention, an investigation into the development of the charity retailer, one which questions its very form and content. It is a suggestion, presenting an alternative way of thinking about what the charity retail form represents and how it can be understood. The previous chapters have detailed the approach adopted, discussing the value form, social practices and how separation in unity is reproduced in and through the space of the built environment. Charity and charity retailing are both forms of the capital relation. Charity has become interwoven with capitalist reproduction. Our impoverishment is mediated through their evolution and reproduction. Volunteering is an antagonism, a minefield of struggle/mediation, charity/capital and doing/labour. Charity retailing is a contradiction, reproducing the social forms of labour power, the money form and the state relation. It is not an autonomous abstraction, but rather a social form which exists in-through-and-against capital. The effects of charity and charity retailing are limited, redistributive rather than transformative.

This chapter seeks to uncover how the charity retail form has evolved and the labour processes inherent within it. The chapter is coloured with analysis of the data collected throughout the research process. To begin the chapter, an historical perspective offers context into the continual reforming of charity retail practices concomitant to the development of the state form, alluding to the contradictory reconstitution referred to in the chapter's title. Separation in unity is expressed through the different, but similar development of the charity retailing forms in both the UK and the USA, as two capitalist nations are compared. Notions of corporate social responsibility and the relation of charity and commercialism are then considered within the UK. This particular section illustrates the significant changes in the charity retailing form since its inception, as it has become increasingly commercial and 'professionalised'. Prior to the examination of the labour processes (between volunteers and management), a narrative on reconstitution is included, relating the

continual deforming and reforming of a charity retailer in Edinburgh, drawing on experiences from participant observation research. The labour processes are then considered relative to literature and data collected through active research, deciphering the social practices of the charity retailer. As we are aware, theories in and of practice are 'densely interwoven with the process of past-present-future' (Bonefeld, 1987: 37) and so we now turn to the past before we consider the present.

5.2: A History: Charity Retail in Context

The previous chapters have presented a conceptualisation of the charity retail form from an open Marxist perspective. Now, our theorisation turns to their historical evolution as a space of capitalism. It is not a long history, but it is varied, colourful and one which demonstrates the fluidity of capitalist reproduction and the complexities of the state form. Just as 'the development of the state (administration) can only be understood as a moment of the antagonistic and crisis-ridden development of capitalist social relations' (Kerr, 1999: 199), the charity retailer can also only be considered as a contradictory moment of this social form. Each of these forms, the charity retailer and the state, of course are interconnected with the behaviour of labour, which as we know, is the source of value in capitalist reproduction. The struggles of labour and the 'conceptualisation of labour as the constitutive power of social existence is of fundamental importance for understanding the self-contradictory mode of existence of the form of the state' (Bonefeld, 1993b: 118). Through the historical evolution of the charity retailer we will see how the deforming and reforming of the state form has effected and been affected by, the struggle of labour in and against capital.

Harvey suggests that 'not all states act in an appropriate way, of course, and even when they do they exhibit a variety of institutional arrangements that can produce quite different results. Much has therefore depended on how the state has been constituted and by whom, and what the state was and is able or prepared to do in support of or in opposition to processes of capital accumulation' (2005: 91). The reconstitution of the state has had a significant effect on the development of the charity retailer, both directly and indirectly, without which their social form today would be distinctly different. The state relation, the continued fetishisation of

government politics and the crisis of the state, are not something external, something removed from us, but an intricate social form, which is 'a harsh material reality that stands in the way of any movement that seeks to change the world' (Callinicos, 2005: 18). As such, charity (and charity retail) is consistently attempting to negate the consequences of capitalism, to effect change, but it can only reproduce today in and through the capital relation. Through a recounting of their historical development, the charity retailer will be revealed as a social form which has become subsumed by the capitalist state form and now acts as a social mediator within its reproduction; the state form 'is not a neutral tool' (Bonnet, 2005: 26).

The beginnings of the charity retail form with which we are familiar today was first realised in Victorian Britain, when a laissez-faire approach was adopted by the state towards those experiencing poverty. The experience of poverty was seen to be the fault of the individual. The nineteenth century was the era of the industrial revolution, the workhouse, pauperism, poverty and Poor Laws. It is an era which represents the flow of capital and people into the cities, the ongoing imposition of capitalist reproduction, the rupturing of creativity and the production of as much surplus value as possible through long hours and uncomfortable working conditions. Although the space of the factory represented the exploitation of labour power and the reassertion of subjugation to the capitalist mode of reproduction, this particular struggle of labour power was also antagonistically seen to represent industrial 'successes', wealth and the impetus for the expansion of capital. State regulation through 'the sequestration of the idle and the compulsion to labour [became] emblematic of the art of correct governing understood in terms of the prosperity, welfare and security of the population' (Dean, 1991: 63). The state relation continued to 'correctly' reconstitute the capitalist mode of reproduction and the threat of the workhouse loomed heavy if you chose to attempt to exist outside of the capital wage relation. Accordingly, the workhouse 'aspired to absorb the idle and to harness them in the interests of the nation or, more concretely, in the interests of the national treasury' (Dean, 1991: 64). Therefore, the workhouses were the means of forcibly appropriating the labour power of individuals through state governance, organising the impoverished and consistently encouraging capitalist accumulation.

Thus, the Victorian era in the wake of the industrial revolution can be seen as a period of induced capitalistic impoverishment, separation and struggle. The relation of poverty was recognised by Booth (the founder of The Salvation Army), whose aptly named publication 'In Darkest England and the Way Out' (1890), suggested that one way the necessary changes required in society could be achieved was through philanthropy. At this time, much charity was offered directly, comparable to the behaviour of the ladies from New York's Children's Potted Plant Society (see section 3.6). Those with a lot gave to those with little. This idea of those who have more wealth giving to the poor is the pre-capitalist notion of charity. It is defined by the commodity and money forms, rather than as a relation of continued impoverishment due to capitalist reproduction. Charity presupposes that labour power is removed from its ability to self-realise, it cannot circumvent the circuit of capital and has become a complement to its reproduction (see section 3.6). Booth (1890) suggested that in order to stimulate change and improve the situation of the poor, the 'submerged' in society, collected donated goods from the well to do could be sold from 'salvage shops.' Therefore, employment could be provided which would 'take the form of collection of quality second-hand goods as well as the renovation of less perfect goods' (Horne, 2000b: 114). These accumulated goods were then made available for sale, diverse examples of which include clothes and shoes, but also 'sponge and hip baths, a crippled sewing machine, a meat chopper, a mangle roller, perambulators, mail-carts and bassinets' (Horne & Maddrell, 2002: 2). In improving the situation of the poor and destitute, Booth was encouraged by Christian beliefs and the desire to inculcate religious values into what he saw as the lower social orders. Through the 'salvage' retailer, philanthropy apparently stimulated change, although the change was one of redistribution rather than transformation and promoted the capitalist mode of reproduction through the wage labour relation.

It wasn't until the national restructuring following the Second World War that the form of the charity retailer began to expand and the state adopted a more proactive attitude to welfare. The Beveridge Report (1942) provoked the establishment of the welfare state, offering social insurance and state support from the cradle to the grave. The National Insurance Act (1946) enhanced pension, maternity and sickness benefits and the National Health Service Act (1948) ensured health care provision for all.

Through the formation of the welfare state, the creation of accessible and available support provided by the state form responded to a public need in the aftermath of world war two. The welfare state however, as a social policy can also be seen as a method of engagement between the state and wage relation. Through the provision of welfare and monetary support, the capitalist mode of reproduction was reconstituted. Such 'social policy is *necessarily* contradictory: it must serve, on the one hand, to control and isolate the threat to civil order from a surplus population and, on the other hand, to promote mechanisms that increase, both directly and indirectly, labour-market attachment' (Kennedy, 2005: 102). The welfare state then sought to appease those within the populace who were seen as threatening, those who would voice and express their struggles in and of capitalist reproduction, such as those who existed as an element of the reserve army of labour power. Simultaneously the creation of the welfare state form resulted in employment opportunities and the provision for engagement with the wage labour relation. The state form continues to represent and reproduce such crises ridden antagonisms today, 'privileging those struggles which appear to contribute to the winning [or maintaining?] of state power and allocating a secondary role or worse to those forms of struggle which do not' (Holloway, 2002c: 157).

The precursor to the charity retailer we are familiar with today still operates in Oxford. It was opened by Oxfam in 1947, to help with an appeal 'for clothes and blankets for Greek women and children who were suffering because of the uprising in Greece in 1946' (Horne, 2000b: 114). The public response was phenomenal, resulting in surplus goods from donations. Thus, as a result of a civil war, a struggle against the imposition of capitalist power and reproduction, a crisis, the charity retailing form was created. The excess donated goods were sold, converting the unwanted commodities into money, which was then redistributed for charitable purposes by Oxfam. The Sue Ryder Foundation began trading in the 1950s and Save the Children in the 1960s, with Shelter and Barnardos opening retail outlets in the 1970s. Oxfam is now the 'largest network of charity shops' (Horne & Broadbridge, 1995: 17). Horne suggests that little has changed from the mindset of the Nineteenth Century, stating 'the majority of charities which operate shops do so in order to raise funds to enable them to carry out their primary purpose...the relief of poverty... the advancement of education...religion

or...other purposes beneficial to the community' (1998: 156). It is questionable whether this statement can still be relevant to charity retailers reproducing in the twenty first century.

Governance both before and after 1945 was influenced strongly by Keynesian policies, advocating a mixed private/public economy which resulted in 'the increasingly systematic and pervasive involvement of the state, directly and indirectly, in the regulation of the working class through the wage, social insurance and social security, on the basis of a generalised expectation of rising wages, a guaranteed minimum subsistence, and a political commitment to full employment' (Clarke, 1988: 275). However, Clarke's comments should not imply that throughout Keynesianism the capitalist mode of production avoided (or diminished) its tendency towards crises. The 1960s was a decade of change across the world. Cleaver discusses how the late 1960s (1968 is an obvious example of acting against the social form) and early 1970s 'demonstrates how the crisis of capital...was precipitated by a cycle of various interconnected struggles (including those of peasants, students, women, industrial workers state workers etc) which succeeded in rupturing the post world war two structure of global capitalist power' (1993: 37).

Through the reconstitution of Keynesianism and Fordist production following the Second World War and into the 1970s, capitalism was 'based on the rapid cheapening of consumption goods through assembly line production, with rising wages and welfare expenditure conciliating the working class and producing capital with a growing market for its products' (Clarke, 1988: 7-8). However tenuous and precarious the state relation with the labour power of the nation was at this time, this Keynesian influenced reproduction and its consequences led to an increase in the number of charity retailers. With the expansion of consumer society, the availability of credit and the restructuring of the retail market, levels of disposable income increased and the more financially secure in society began to frequently donate goods to charities for resale during the 1960s. As the number of donations accelerated, more charities realised the potential of retailing operations and opened in temporary outlets with short term leases. Horne & Maddrell (2002: 5) provide clarification regarding the extent of development up until the late 1970s: 'Formal shops often developed

through the realisation of the potential of clothing sales, and for the most part...were run by volunteers for a few hours a day and were located in secondary or poor locations, close to the people who needed the goods that were on sale.' Whether this statement regarding the location tendency of charity retailers remains relevant in today's market is a central theme of this investigation (see chapter 6).

Charity retailing expanded rapidly in the 1980s with the buoyant economy, until the late 1980s recession. Charity retailers were becoming increasingly present in society, providing discounted goods for those who required, rather than desired them (as people do today). PDSA, Cancer Research, Help the Aged, Sense, Tenovus and British Heart Foundation are a few of the many charities who opened retailing ventures in the 1980s. The era of Keynesianism had passed, its faltering policies discarded in favour of Thatcher's restrictive monetarist policies of the 1980s. Monetarism was based on the 1956 economics of Friedman and had already been adopted by America's President Reagan. There was no commitment to full employment and public spending was restricted; dependence upon the government's welfare system was viewed as a weakness, one which only exacerbated impoverishment. The state was being 'rolled back' as the United Kingdom familiarised itself once more with austerity.

As a result of 'the radical restructuring of taxation and social-security spending engineered by both the Thatcher and Reagan governments and their successors since 1979, coupled with an offensive by employers to restrain wages and undermine working conditions...the poor and those on middle incomes [are further squeezed]...intensifying conflicts between them' (Jones & Novak, 1999: 21). This restructuring is seen as essential for the reconstitution of capital by Clarke, who suggests that capitalism needed to 'weaken the working class politically and industrially so as to restore profitability. Monetarism is the ideological mask that seeks to conceal this capitalist counter-offensive' (1988: 6), a counter-offensive which is a further response to capitalist crises. Monetarism is an example of how 'capital has attempted to both *define* the conditions of its own crises in the categorical terms of nations, firms and citizens and, at the same time, *constrict* conscious solutions of these crises to answers framed in the very same categories' (McGrail, 1993: 12-13). Capitalism reproduces its own flawed state, through which it appears to both address

and create further crises in the social form which in the 1980s was demonstrated by extremes of wealth and poverty, through the forms of money and wage labour. Thus, as a result of the consequences of Thatcher's policies, charity retailers became more successful. They expanded in response to the availability of goods being donated and the need for discounted retailers, although there was some level of social stigma attached to consuming second-hand goods. Charity retailers reproduce separation in unity: As charities and charity retailers at this time began to address social issues in a struggle to negate the effects of monetarist reproduction, they also contradictorily began to become more of a medium of the state.

Simultaneously, in the late 1980s charitable outlets were becoming relied upon more as a source of unallocated funds for their charity, providing continual (if not substantial) income. Dees (1998) notes that the income received from charity retailers within the established charity sector was viewed as reliable and consistent compared to donations. The realisation that retailing could accrue increased revenue meant charities began to alter outlets, improve and 'professionalise'. The shop structure was beginning to change. This movement towards commercialism included the introduction of paid staff and recruitment of qualified, retail trained staff in managerial positions, in a move away from being volunteer led. Most charity retailers today, in the Twenty-First Century, have a structured managerial system and are no longer wholly reliant upon their volunteer body. In addition to this, the charities have improved their image. Kotler & Levy (1969) were the first to propose marketing for non-profit organisations. By introducing a marketing 'mindset' charity retailers have increased affinity with their clients and created a visibly recognisable charity 'brand'. The most prominent charity retailers in Britain have established a hierarchical top-down managerial structure and their operations can be directly compared to non-charity related businesses. However this development has created conflict within the wider retail market, manifested in opposition from comparable non-charity retailers (such as second hand bookshops). John Walker, now the National Chairman of The Federation of Small Businesses stated that '*charity shops can be aggressive commercial institutions trading in similar products to small businesses, yet they continue to be exempt from paying business rates... [the government] must address this unfair*

*competition to ensure that Britain's high street have a vibrant and successful future'*¹⁵ (*The Federation of Small Businesses, 2004*). Charity retailers are perceived to be in an advantageous position as they receive 80% mandatory and 20% discretionary rates relief, the latter determined by the local authority. Charity retailers, in addition to the rates relief they receive, are not obligated to pay VAT on donated goods. Non-charity retailers feel they experience a level of unfair competition within the market as charity retailers pay minimal rates and have a volunteer workforce, each resulting in diminishing financial outgoings. Through state regulation, antagonisms have been created and reproduced between the charity and non-charity retailing forms.

Charity retailers have improved stores since the 1980s, in both layout and appearance and many shops have been thematically standardised. Store sophistication is enhanced and the charity retailers continue to benefit from legislation. In this respect, the state has legislated favourably with respect to the charity retailer, however this is another form of state regulation, increasing its influence over their social form and limiting their ability to struggle against capitalist reproduction. The charity retailer has become like the form of labour, continually reconstituted by the state (and through their engagement with the retail market) into the capitalist mode of reproduction. The charity retailers themselves have evolved to become more competitive within the retail market following their 'professionalisation' which began in the 1990s and their identities as mechanisms for consumption have radically altered. Specialist book and furniture stores have been introduced. Charities run bridal, vintage and designer fashion boutiques. Internet shopping has become established through the more commercial 'professional' charities own websites and also 'EBay for charity.' With professionalisation came an element of destigmatisation within the charity retailing form. 'Professionalisation' has undeniably altered the composition of Britain's charity retailers, a process which continues today. However, since the 1990s, through the Labour 'New Deal' policies and the continuation of neo-liberal privatisation in society, the 'role of the welfare state has changed, moving towards means-tested and targeted benefits, and towards...catering for capitalism's need for insecure, low-quality labour power, and the disciplining of a growing surplus population' (Kennedy, 2005: 94). Kennedy also suggests that through Blair's policies regarding social exclusion following

¹⁵ <http://www.fsb.org.uk/news.aspx?REC=2212&re=news.asp>

1997, there has been a 'shift...away from the focus on structural inequalities and poverty and towards equality through raising individual opportunities and emphasising individual responsibilities' (2005: 92). However, this dichotomy is yet another way in which the state form can be seen to take action (even though it is merely reproducing impoverishment) and yet distance itself as a form, by encouraging individual action and means tested benefits. The charity retailer has become interwoven into such policies, as many new volunteers throughout the last decade have been placements through state initiatives, such as the New Deal for Communities. The 'neoliberal restructuring of the state has excluded and marginalised labour' (Bonnet, 2005: 28) whilst subsuming and enveloping the form of charities and charity retailers, reproducing antagonistic capitalism. It is only a matter of time before the effects of new social policy such as Cameron's 'Big Society' of 2010 (where even more impetus is placed on voluntarism and charities), are manifested through the forms of labour and charity retailing.

Many cultures of consumption are apparent in the texture of the city form and in the present day the charity retailer has experienced something of a rebirth, with more retailers operating successfully, the second hand stigma has diminished (although to what extent it is difficult to ascertain) and the demand for vintage and retro items has augmented simultaneously. The mediums of consumption are consistently changing, with the recent onset of internet shopping and the movement in the 1970s from the High Streets to out of town locations. This relocation within the retail market proved critical for the emergence of the charity retailer, as space became available for occupation in the High Streets of Britain, which were rapidly considered less prime and increasingly secondary as a retail destination, yet they provided suitable and less costly premises for charities (see chapter 6 for more detail). Shop numbers increased, charity retailers moved to different locations and adopted a more corporate like approach to their reproduction encouraging profit maximisation through target setting and the introduction of new, bought in goods for sale. Concurrently, vintage fashion was in demand once more from consumers and there was a new impetus to reuse and recycle as 'green' and 'ethnic' initiatives infused society in the twenty first century. Charity retailers are enveloped into the processes of commodification and through specialist shops they engage with the apparent need for an element of the spectacular, in their

attempts to usurp competition, from both charity and non-charity retailers. An aspect of spectacular consumption which is interesting when critically examined is that of the fair trade movement.

Fair trade clothing and food were introduced into charity retailing in the 1990s, where goods were bought in from countries where poverty and unemployment was being experienced. A monetary contribution could then be made back into the community where the goods were created, benefitting the charity and also the recipients. However, the fair trade relation is an example of how the charity and the charity retailer contribute to the globalisation of capitalism. By introducing this form of exchange and employment, the wage labour relation is introduced and established in countries and communities which may previously have been without it. Thus, relations of primitive accumulation and therefore the capitalist mode of reproduction find expression through charity retailers and fair trade. The social form of the charity retailer is, like all other practices in capitalist society, constantly in a state of flux and redefinition, tension and acquiescence, diverse yet regulated, subsumed into the form of the state and a medium for labour and welfare relations.

The legislation governing the trading of charity retailers is The Local Government Finance Act (1988). Section 64 (10) offers a definition of a retailer operating for charitable purposes, as one which is 'wholly or mainly used for the sale of goods donated...and the proceeds of the sale of the goods...applied for the purpose of the charity'¹⁶. Horne & Broadbridge suggest that charity retailers today can further be categorised by their merchandise mix, into three particular forms:

'Category I: 100 per cent donated merchandise.

Category II: donate merchandise plus a proportion of new merchandise.

Category III: 100 per cent new merchandise' (1995: 18).

Those stores which represent category III are relatively scarce within the charity retail market and can be associated predominantly with charities such as the National Trust and the Royal National Lifeboat Institution (RNLI). Today, the category I charity retailer is becoming less common, with the more commercialised charity retailers

¹⁶ <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1988/41/section/64>

incorporating both bought in, new merchandise and donated goods. According to the Charity Retail Association, which represents the interest of British charity retailers, donations still account for a considerable '87% of the goods sold in charity shops'¹⁷ and are therefore key to their successful reproduction. The majority of commercialised, more 'professionalised' charity retailers today operate as category II. In addition to the aforementioned governing legislation, charities and their retail outlets in the United Kingdom are regulated by several non-Ministerial governmental departments. These are respectively, the Charity Commission for England and Wales, the Charity Commission for Northern Ireland and the Office of the Scottish Charity Regulator (OSCR) in Scotland. Each body seeks to promote good practice through charities by 'ensuring legal compliance, enhancing accountability, encouraging effectiveness and impact [and] promoting the public interest in charity'¹⁸ and has quasi-judicial power to regulate.

By 2000, the number of charity retailers was represented by '7,000 retail outlets and a turnover of approximately £300m' (Horne, 2000a: 101). Goodall condenses the history of the charity retailer through numbers, stating that '5,200 actual shops were opened [in the period between] (1948 to 1993) compared with 1,800 [in the period between] (1993 to 2000)', a situation which then led to a 'decline in 2001' (Goodall, 2002: 100-101) and he suggests, a saturation in the market. However, recent data indicates 'that there are more than 7,000 charity shops trading in the UK' (Alexander, Cryer & Wood, 2008: 537). These figures indicate that there has been reconstitution of the charity retailing form in the first decade of the twenty first century, with many charities closing and reopening stores. The presence of charity retailers within our urban form has not diminished, but is dynamic and ever changing, inherently related to the reproduction of interconnected capitalist relations. The following sub-section considers the notions of separation in unity with respect to the development of the charity retailing form in the United Kingdom and the United States of America.

5.2.1: Charity Retailers in Capitalism Today: The United Kingdom & USA.

'The spatial, global nature of capitalist social relations has been a central feature of capitalist development since its bloody birth in conquest and piracy' (Holloway, 1994:

¹⁷ http://www.charityshops.org.uk/faqs_shop.html

¹⁸ http://www.charity-commission.gov.uk/About_us/About_the_Commission/Our_vision_index.aspx

31), as capitalism strives for expansion. Capitalist relations of production and governance are manifested across the world in and through a myriad of countries. The previous section illustrated the social practices of capitalist reproduction which has created the form of the charity retailer today. In the United Kingdom today, charity retailers are ubiquitous. Their development reflects the capitalist mode of reproduction globally, nationally and locally. We are aware that 'the constitution of the world market turns into the premise of the imposition of work in national economies' (Bonefeld, 1992: 113) and that this work (and labour power) is mediated and realised in different ways. Charity retailing has manifested itself in a way which mediates the separation in unity of capitalist reproduction. However, just as 'we need to go beyond the assumption of the separateness of the different states to find a way of discussing their unity' (Holloway, 1994: 26), charity retailers can also be approached as similar, but different. An illustrative example of the national differences of charity retailers can be observed in the differing forms charity has adopted through retailing in the United Kingdom and the United States of America. Although each nation is separated nationally, they are unified by capitalist reproduction globally, a reproduction which has realised very different ways of expressing the form of charity through retailing and the built environment.

The 'charity retailer' as it is recognised in the United Kingdom acquires a significantly different character in the United States of America. To effectively summarise the contrasting presence of such retailers in each national market, the relevant figures are displayed in table 9, below. For the purpose of the table, 'charity retailers' covers stores operating for charitable purposes in both the USA and the United Kingdom.

Table 10: Ratios of Population to Charity Retail Outlets: A Comparison

	Population (Mil).	No. 'Charity- Retailers'	'Charity Retailer' to Population Ratio
The USA	303.825¹⁹	9796²⁰	1:31,015
Great Britain & N. Ireland	60.975²¹	5656²²	1:10,781

What is obvious from the details in Table 9 is that although Britain is a much smaller country in terms of population, it has a significantly higher proportion (over 3 times the number) of charity shops per head than the USA. The charity retailing form has been realised in a very different way in the United States. The reason that 'charity retailer' in the above table was presented in quotation format is due to the alternative name given to such retailers in the USA: 'not for profit thrift' stores. Along with resale and consignment outlets, not for profit thrift stores are represented by the Association of Resale Professionals, previously the National Association of Resale and Thrift Shops (NARTS). This organisation was founded in Chicago, Illinois in 1984 and has since become '...the world's largest retail trade association'²³ after expanding to represent the entire of the USA in 1988. NARTS boasts over 1,200 affiliated members, which represents over 25,000 resale and thrift stores. NARTS (2011) supplies advice and support to the resale community, holding annual conferences and concentrating on the needs within this retail section.

Unlike the bodies representing charity retailers in Britain (see section 5.2), NARTS does not assert any legal regulatory power, compared with the Charity Commission and events like their regular audits, which contribute toward ensuring a wholly transparent charity retail system. The stores in operation in the US perform, and for all intents and purposes, are treated as a homogeneous retailer, with no rates relief benefits as in Britain; therefore their purpose is their only distinguishing factor in the market. To

¹⁹ www.cia.gov/library

²⁰ www.thethriftshopper.com Figure as of 14/03/2011.

²¹ www.statistics.gov.uk

²² 'Charity Shops Survey 2007.' *Charity Finance*. www.charityfinance.co.uk Plaza Publishing Ltd 2007.

²³ <http://www.narts.org/i4a/pages/index.cfm?pageid=3284> (31/02/2011)

clarify further, the stores which make up the 25,000 plus 'resale and thrift' stores are defined by NARTS (2008) as follows:

'Resale Shop: *Buy their merchandise outright from individual owners.*

Thrift Shop: *Run by a Not for Profit organisation to raise money to fund their charitable causes. These range from the large Salvation Army / Goodwill chains to individual school, church or hospital thrift shops. Not For Profits can obtain goods through donations or they could operate on a consignment basis- some do both.*

Consignment shop: *Accepts merchandise on a consignment basis, paying the owners of the merchandise a percentage when and if the items are sold. The majority of such shops pay the owners from 40 to 60% of the selling price, and have a policy of displaying goods for anywhere from 30 to 90 days, although there is a wide range of policies across the country.'*²⁴

By definition alone, it is obvious that the manner in which charity retailers are represented in the US varies from that of Britain. The potential for consignment would eradicate the possibility of a British retailer being classified as a charity shop. Consigning openly conflicts with the elucidation of what constitutes such a store by the Local Government Finance Act (1988) and the culture of donating goods. Although the definition is broad and relevant to many varieties of charities offering goods for sale, the central concept is the action of selling donated goods (87% in categories I and II, as per 5.2), rather than obtaining a percentage of the profit. The American consignment store operates for business and charity, rather than having wholly charitable motivations akin to the charity retailer in Britain. There is less potential for confusion within Britain regarding the nature and motivations driving the store as they are primarily donation driven, whereas in the USA, you may be shopping in a thrift, resale or consignment store, with no visible difference apparent between the three in the twenty first century.

Thrift stores are, as charity shops with Britain, not a modern addition to the shopping experience. The Washington Times (2006) reports on the successful business of Thrift Shop Consignments Inc in D.C. which has traded as a thrift store since the 1930s and

²⁴ <http://www.narts.org/i4a/pages/index.cfm?pageid=3310> (31/02/2011)

decided to expand to include the consigning of commodities as ‘...it is able to give more money to the charities it supports now that the inventory...is worth more’²⁵. They continue to report that other ‘For Profit’ stores in the Washington area give whatever they fail to sell to ‘Not for Profit’ associations, as many non-charity retailers do within Britain with charity retailers receiving goods from end of season stock and seconds.

Profit distribution appears to remain confined to within local boundaries rather than nationwide in the USA. The Washington Post (2007) refers to these as ‘area charities’. Apart from the larger not for profit organisations, it seems that it is more usual to operate for the benefit of local charities, rather than redirecting the money elsewhere as is the case in some of the UK’s charity retailers (such as Cancer Research UK or Oxfam). An American example of this is the revenue from ‘Yesterday’s Rose’, Fairfax, VA, which benefits four local charities: ‘*The National Capital area of the American Red Cross, the Northern Virginia section of the National Council of Jewish Women, the Arc of Northern Virginia and Service Source Inc., a Nonprofit that trains people with mental disabilities and provides many of the workers at Yesterday’s Rose*’²⁶. While a significant number of not for profit thrift stores operate in this manner, there remain nationwide stores, the two most prominent and profitable being The Salvation Army and Goodwill Industries. According to NARTS, ‘*Goodwill Industries alone generated \$2.8 billion in retail sales from their 2,324 Not For Profit thrift stores across America in 2009*’²⁷. Such a figure for one thrift shop is significantly larger than the average profit of the charity retailer as a whole in the UK (£300m in 2000, see 5.2), however, when compared to population, this is not surprising. The thrift stores, like those of Goodwill, must successfully address a ‘need’ through the commodities they offer, for which people are willing to engage in the exchange relation. The sector continues to grow with NARTS estimating that it has expanded in recent years (2009-2011) by 7% annually²⁸.

²⁵ ‘What a Bargain’ The Washington Times. 12/11/06
<http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2006/nov/11/20061111-111014-3495r/> Last accessed (31/02/2011)

²⁶ ‘Thrift Shop Lesson No.1: Tame the Pile.’ The Washington Post Company. 06/02/07
<http://pqasb.pqarchiver.com/washingtonpost/access/1211161331.html?FMT=ABS&FMTS=ABS:FT&date=Feb+6%2C+2007&author=John+Kelly&pub=The+Washington+Post&edition=&startpage=B.3&desc=Thrift+Shop+Lesson+No.+1%3A+Tame+the+Pile> Last accessed (31/02/2011)

²⁷ <http://www.narts.org/i4a/pages/index.cfm?pageid=3285> Last accessed (31/02/2011)

²⁸ <http://www.narts.org/i4a/pages/index.cfm?pageid=3285>

Other similarities worth noting which exist between the not for profit stores in the USA and charity shops in Britain, apart from their continual growth include the following:

- A level of stigmatisation remains.
- Recycling is a major motivation in utilising the shops.
- It is increasingly 'fashionable' to patronise charity/not for profit stores, to get a bargain.
- Specialist shops have been introduced and are succeeding.

This comparison offers insight into the characteristics developed by the global charity retailing market and illustrates the differences and similarities evident between countries reproducing in-through-and-against capitalism. Another paradox has become apparent: Britain and the USA operate in a contradictory manner with regard to the treatment of their respective 'charity' shops. While the British market is regulated and viewed as a component element which exists within the parent charity, they are distinctly separated by regulations from comparable non-charity retailers, their American counterparts thrift stores are merely recognised as retail outlets and do not benefit from their charitable standing. The American thrift shop, unlike the charity retailer within the UK, also tends to be less reliant upon the volunteer form. Although both countries offer antagonistic methods of governance, the 'charity' retailers in both countries remain successful, in a capitalist fashion. Again, the emphasis is upon separation in unity: the countries are each united by their desire to provide 'charity' retailers, but they have developed in very different ways under contrasting modes of governance within the contradictions in capitalism. The following chapter section brings us back to the UK and the labour processes within charity retailers.

5.3: Labour Processes Uncovered

Marx tells us that 'all social life is essentially *practical*. All mysteries which lead theory to mysticism find their rational solution in human practice and in the comprehension of this practice' (Marx, 1998: 571). Human practices under capitalism have realised the social form of the charity retailer in the UK today. 'Charity shops are as much a social as a retailing phenomenon and need to be seen as such if we are to understand both their commercial success and social impact' (Horne & Maddrell, 2002: 136).

Therefore, the practices and labour processes which reproduce charity retailers and conversely, which charity retailers themselves reproduce requires examination. We have already conceptualised the space of the charity retailer (chapter 4.3 - 4.5) and the form of the volunteer within it (chapter 4.2), through open Marxist informed theory (chapter 3) and certain elements of those discussions will be revisited through the following data analysis. The theory is one in and of practice and the charity retail form is one which reproduces in-through-and-against capitalism. The following sections refer directly to literature, the data collected through the completed questionnaires received (both through the internet and the postal responses) and the responses from interviews undertaken. Much of it is primarily descriptive, with a conceptual influence throughout. The first aspect of charity retailing to be discussed refers to their professionalisation and questions the efficacy of their recent alliances with corporations.

5.3.1: A Corporate Social Responsibility Dream Team?

‘Mad Men’ is an American drama set in the competitive advertising world of 1960s New York. In a series two episode, Bertram Cooper, the CEO of the ad agency Stirling Cooper discusses how one of his partners, Don Draper, has been offered a place on the board of a new museum. Draper is bemused and questions how this honorary (and therefore unpaid, unprofitable and apparently useless) position can possibly be of any benefit to himself or the company. In response, Cooper remarks to Draper, ‘philanthropy is the gateway to power’. Much in society has changed since the 1960s, but the notion of philanthropic and commercial collaboration for mutual benefit has infiltrated capitalist reproduction in the form of ‘corporate social responsibility’ (CSR).

Carroll (1999) suggests that CSR should embody the economic, legal, ethical and philanthropic responsibilities of a company relevant to the social form. CSR is regarded as an important notion as ‘it addresses and captures the most important concerns of the public regarding business and society relationships’ (Carroll, 1999: 292). CSR offers the companies involved a social conscience expressed publicly, or the potential to acquire one and promote it if they didn’t already act philanthropically. An example of CSR in practice through philanthropy is the Prêt A Manger sandwich chain, which donates a percentage of its profits from the sale of sandwiches in November

and December, towards its 'really big Christmas dinner'. Five pence from every sandwich was donated in 2010 and the money raised went directly to support charities for the homeless in local communities throughout the UK. This resulted in 'hot meals and Christmas dinners for homeless shelters, hostels and soup kitchens the whole length of the country. That's all their meals, every day, for two months'²⁹. Although this form of CSR presents Prêt A Manger in a positive, charitable way, the redistribution of money and its transformation through the feeding the homeless is a direct action, which is struggling to negate the poverty experienced due to capitalist reproduction. Of course, Prêt a Manger benefit from the positive publicity garnered through their actions. However, the CSR relation in charity retailers can be seen to be one which is purely capitalistic in its practices. The relationship under scrutiny is between Marks & Spencer plc, an established and renowned British retailer and Oxfam, a stalwart of the charity retail in the UK.

Since 2007, Marks & Spencer have been actively promoting their 'Plan A', a 'five year eco and ethical plan' (2010: 36), which has resulted in the 'M&S and Oxfam Clothes Exchange'. The Oxfam website considers M&S as their 'corporate' partners and states that 'Marks and Spencer is one of the UK's leading high-street brands. And so is Oxfam. Now we've come together to pioneer a brilliant joint initiative...'³⁰ Oxfam has become a 'brand', a recognised retailer which is inherently related to (capitalist notions of) charity and philanthropy. The charity retailer is now a spectacular space of consumption. This concept of the spectacular is mediated further through their relationship with M&S. The original initiative began in January 2008 and only included clothing, however as of June 2009, soft furnishings were also included. By donating an item of M&S labelled clothing (including shoes, handbags, scarves, belts and hats) or soft furnishings (bed linen, towels and tablecloths) to Oxfam, the donor then receives a voucher which entitles them to a £5 reduction on their next visit to M&S, when they spend £35 or more. Although the donor may only receive one voucher per donation, there is no limit on the number of vouchers they can receive, however the voucher must be redeemed within a calendar month.

²⁹ http://www.pret.com/christmas/who_are_we_helping.htm

³⁰ http://www.oxfam.org.uk/get_involved/companies/partners/mands.html

The clothes exchange scheme enhances the reputation of M&S as a socially responsible retailer and Oxfam profit directly from the donation and resale of donated M&S goods. In their annual report, M&S claim that there have been 1.8 million M&S items recycled through Oxfam. Oxfam themselves state that via the clothes exchange more than 2,500 tonnes of clothing has been diverted from landfill and that the sale of 'the clothes in our shops has raised an extra £3 million for our work'³¹. If the goods donated to Oxfam are unsellable, the clothes can be recycled and ragged with the profit from the ragging going back to Oxfam, so a financial return is almost guaranteed for the charity, one way or another. Both retailers obviously benefit greatly from the publicity and promotional opportunities; much has been made about the partnership in the press. Sir Stuart Rose, CEO of M&S comments that the initiative is a 'triple win...good for customers, good for people in developing countries and good for the environment'³². However, Sir Stuart Rose fails to account for the benefits to the M&S Corporation, as M&S also increase their profitability through the initiative. By returning clothes to Oxfam which they have already purchased at M&S, the shopper receives their £5 money off voucher for participating M&S stores. Therefore, in order to realise the monetary 'value' of their voucher, they must return to M&S once more as a repeat customer and again engage in the exchange relation. In order to qualify for their £5 reduction, the shopper must first acquire goods to the value of £35. In this respect M&S, through their charitable partnership with Oxfam, are encouraging further expenditure in their stores. The profit which they accrue from the sale of goods worth £35, even when the £5 reduction is accounted for, will still be realised, even if the surplus value is diminished slightly. This practice then proactively encourages consumption in M&S, detracting attention from their competitors through engaging with charity and offering an illusory monetary 'reward' for being charitable (in the capitalist sense of the word, through redistribution).

The capitalist mode of reproduction continues through charity and the money form. Oxfam's relationship with M&S indicates the continuing processes of commodification and the ways in which corporate companies (and charities!) must engage with the social form in order to remain competitive market leaders in the capitalist retail form. This is also yet another example of how the charity and the charity retailers are

³¹ http://www.oxfam.org.uk/shop/content/secondhandstore/fashion/ms_clothes_exchange.html

³² http://www.oxfam.org.uk/get_involved/companies/partners/mands.html

behaving as capitalist enterprises. Through their association with M&S, the promise of a £5 off voucher, they are undercutting competition from other charity-retailers, who are losing donations because consumers are donating their goods to Oxfam. The money form, consumption of the spectacular, CSR and all their relative illusions are manifested through the M&S Oxfam relationship. It is hard to argue with Mad Men's Bertram Cooper, as philanthropy does appear to be the gateway to power, dominance and profiteering within retail practices.

5.3.2: Continual Reconstitution: A Tale of Two Managers

Edinburgh, April 2008. A prevalent British charity opens the doors of its newest charity retailing venture for the first time. Two weeks later a period of participant observation through active volunteering began for the purpose of this research. Throughout the experience of volunteering, this charity retailer, still in its infancy, evolved rapidly. The shop today is remarkably different in many respects from its form at inception, its modus operandi has altered significantly and the management has also changed, illustrating continual social flux and reconstitution of the charity retailing form. This is the story of the shop and its managers.

Once this particular charity retailer had been identified as the preferred shop through which to carry out volunteering (see Chapter 2 for justification of choice of charity retailer), the manager was approached in person and apprised of the research investigation. Jamie acquiesced in assisting in the ongoing research and she had no qualms about the active involvement it entailed within the retailer. After completing the required volunteer documentation (an application form including assessment of availability, employment history, any previous experience of charity work, acknowledgement of criminal convictions and contact details for two references), a date for induction was discussed and agreed upon for the following week.

In the beginning was...a bookshop? The initial concept for the new store was a bookshop, which Jamie described as *'a kind of upmarket, almost like boutique bookshop... [to] really go for the specialist niche market, high profile [with] really good quality books'*. Jamie wanted a career change, and with relevant bookselling experience applied for the management position. Jamie had also previously been a volunteer with the parent charity:

'I had been the manager of [a bookshop] in George Street for about four years and I guess, fundamentally I decided I wanted to do something more worthwhile and less corporate, but something that was also connected with books and retail... [I was] just looking to do something different'.

Jamie was manager of the fledgling charity retailer for a period of 10 months only. What began as a bookshop, became a *'false premise...it wasn't what I thought it was going to be'*, as the store changed rapidly within the 10 months Jamie worked there. Throughout the interview there are strong suggestions that the 'false premise' which made the position so attractive to Jamie personally was misleading, that really the charity were merely experimenting with the concept of the bookshop and expected it would be a fluid retail experience. A retailer more concerned with profit than content. Jamie, however fully expected to manage a bookshop. It was not only the shop which changed, but Jamie's whole opinion of charity retailing, as she experienced an unexpected reaction to the motivations of charity retailing: *'I was surprised at how corporate it was...it was less hearts and minds and more pounds and pence'*. Today Jamie still maintains that charity retailing, as *'a concept, is a way to change the world to make it a better place and that concept is still an idea beyond the actual organisation, beyond what the shop is'*, even though through charity the social form is not actively changed, but actively mediated. Although, there seemed to be a level of awareness that through charity retailing, the effectiveness of change is limited and restricted, as Jamie reconsiders and wholly contradicts the earlier statement saying, *'I think that no matter how successful [the charity] is as a commercial operation, it will never achieve its aims because no matter how much money you can make from donations and charity shops, things like that, you will never change the world'*. Through the management experience and her personal reflection upon it, the antagonisms of charity retailing emerge through Jamie, tempered by what was once on her part, an attempt to personally contribute to something which actually appeared to make a difference.

Jamie was the only paid member of staff, therefore the volunteer form became essential to the reproduction of the bookshop. At this time the store only offered books, a limited amount of music CDs and records along with fair trade food were also introduced in the months after opening. Jamie had a rapport with the volunteers and

the store was brimming with enthusiasm and ideas to implement. The volunteers became involved in representing the charity at outside events (such as the Meadows festival in Edinburgh) and raised money for the charity through Christmas gift wrapping in an out of town shopping centre. Window displays were thematically presented and there was an enormous Penguin book promotion. When discussing the volunteers Jamie suggests that *'on the whole I had a really positive experience with the volunteers, I really enjoyed the diversity...the more diverse the people, the more diverse the shop and in a way that's its strength, innovation [people] that have ideas.'*

What proved to be an issue for Jamie was that as a charity retail manager, *'you can't really look at it as a permanent career, what career is in it, there is no career development in it, no training...you develop yourself and that...when I joined my long term idea was to stay 2-3 years, I had no intentions of leaving after 10 months, I was wanting to make a much longer commitment to it.'* What prompted her decision to leave was influenced by restrictions, difficulties in taking holiday time and constantly finding themselves working in excess of their stipulated contract hours. Jamie discusses how *'I was kind of working six or 7 days a week and out of the 25 days I was supposed to get off I think I got ten...and that was it.'* Jamie continues, *'I don't know any managers at all who worked even vaguely close to their contracted hours...there wasn't an explicit expectation but there was certainly a tacit expectation that you would do that. I mind someone saying you know [the parent charity] do really detailed audits about their ethical programmes and projects abroad...but not in the UK!!'* This is an example of the guilt complex experienced by managers in Jamie's position. As the managers work for a charity, there is a quietly implied assumption that each of them will work longer hours, on a salary which, for Jamie's parent charity was circa £17,000. Therefore, the charity receives excess surplus value through the reproduction of their management retail practices, profiting from a direct association with 'charity' and an indirect association with guilt.

Jamie wonders *'my fundamental question would be, is your role just to make money or is your role to actually be something, or do something more beyond that?'* Throughout her time as a manager, Jamie experienced differences of opinions which resulted in ongoing conflict with the area manager. The management hierarchy was *'top down management, it's very em, when I was there it was very sales target driven...I never*

really got to speak to anybody other than [my area manager] and [we] really didn't see eye to eye on a lot of things... [they] were out to make as much money as possible, it wasn't my sole agenda', which proved to be a cause of tension. Ultimately, this conflict was expressed through the charity retailer when Jamie went on holidays and the area manager decided to reorganise the entire store while she was away. This was the turning point, the onset of disillusion, not just with the charity retailing management structure, but with the position itself, Jamie says, 'what annoyed me most about that particular situation wasn't the fact that the shop had been changed round, it was the fact that I wasn't told that this was going to happen... well how does that make you feel...it's a new shop and you've been at it for six months, you come back and it's a totally different shop, without any consultation, not even an acknowledgement...' Different commodities were introduced onto the shop floor, including clothing, the book display modules had been reduced and more art was offered for sale. Jamie was experiencing subordination, a struggle against the area manager, who was also in a position of subordination, to her line manager, to the money form and to capitalist reproduction. The atmosphere in the retailer had altered, Jamie knew that more change was likely, saying 'I could also see the direction the shop was going...I actually did reports for [the area manager] pointing the way to becoming a clothes shop...the way to make money in this shop is to make it a clothes shop'. Jamie left, found another job in books, which is 'a secure job, better pay, much better...I was guaranteed every weekend off, working only five days a week...' Today, Jamie is much happier working out of the charity sector, and as she predicted, her charity retail store became less about books and more about clothes.

In early 2009, Blair became the new manager of the charity retailer, replacing Jamie. She is still the manager today, although the store has continued to alter in form. The shop in 2009 following Jamie's departure was a mixture of books, music, fair trade food, fair trade goods and clothes. Blair also had experience in retailing, although she states, 'I wasn't necessarily keen or desperate to work in the charity sector, but there was a job that was there and I thought, I could do that, I've got the experience in retail, little did I realise how different it was going to be.' Blair discusses similar problems with being the sole paid employee and the manager, saying 'I never really get a day off, I am never really free, and I've not been away on holiday yet. One, because I can't

afford it because the pay is dreadful but two, because if I do go away, it's not that I don't trust people, how does [my absence] translate in terms of having a volunteer team run the shop for a week, it's my responsibility.' She goes on to talk about the need for change and the difficulties that such change introduces, *'it's a struggle when you've got such a new shop as ours...it is difficult trying to find out what works- the clothes are obviously making a difference and that's fantastic, [but] with it being fluid it means that there's a lot more work involved'.*

Blair has a much better relationship with the area manager. They are both acutely aware that profit is key and that as the charity shop *'is a "proper retail environment", I have to think of my profit margins- how am I going to make money as quickly as possible, because at the end of the day it's not me its' helping, it's these people who are suffering horribly and that is the reason we are there. I have to remind myself of that every day because there are times where I want to just chuck in the towel and go fuck off!'* However, she too also has issues with the top down managerial approach: *'I get SO angry when they [the parent charity] say that the support systems are in place, but I'm saying I need support and I am getting none. That's the thing that makes me laugh a bit, because you know they expect all this and give so little back, there's no feedback, there's no positive feedback, there's no financial feedback, it's just not fair, my bête noir'.* Blair and Jamie then both have difficulties with the reproduction of the management hierarchy, as they each feel that there is little in the way of support or acknowledgement from the head office. Blair is amused at the contradictions between how the parent charity presents itself to the public and the reality of the situation: *'[the charity] pride themselves on their paid staff retention, that is a joke and I think it's a lie, because so many good managers have left because they have had enough. They're tired, their exhausted, they are underpaid, overworked and they are made to feel guilty...it is really actually quite offensive when I think about it'.* Blair is salaried for 36 hours but works a 60 hour week. She goes on to suggest that *'if you want something you have to do it yourself, head office won't help you, it's a letdown...if they [the parent charity] want a corporate retail structure they need to put the support in place, they need to put the financial support in place and they need to give you a little bit of help and stop expecting something for nothing...'* It seems that managing charity retail in and through a dysfunctional hierarchy seeks to separate those at head office

level, from those who are actively managing, whilst offering a unified appearance, one which disguises exploitation of the labour power with a charitable facade. This further illustrates how the charity retailer is reproducing in-and-through-and-against the capitalist mode of reproduction. Their operation is a daily struggle to ensure sufficient commodities are exchanged and profit accumulated for redistribution.

The reconstitution of the retailer itself continued with Blair. In January 2010, the store was partitioned and the rear of the retailer became a volunteer run online shop. This has continued to put pressure on Blair as a manager, as now, more volunteers are required for increasingly different purposes, with both the store and the online outlet each managed by Blair alone. As the interviews were conducted in 2009, there is no further interview information on the manager's reaction to this recreation. However, Blair continues to manage both elements of this particular charity retailer. Recently, there has been further change. The original charity retailer is unrecognisable after three years. The books are gone, the store has halved in size, there is no longer a music section, but the fair trade food remains. The management are aware of the contradictions and difficulties in charity retailing, but accept that any change in their own circumstances is unlikely due to the head office hierarchy. They are but the labour power, realising the money form for the benefit of a capitalist charity. The store itself is now a vintage clothing emporium!

5.3.3: Management and Volunteers: An Alliance of Difference?

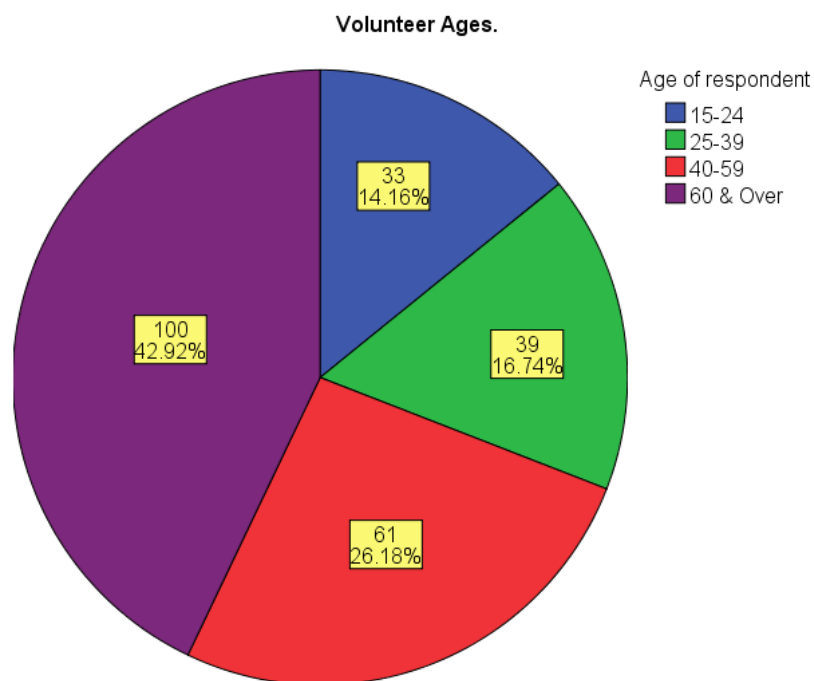
The previous section illustrated the continual deforming and reforming experienced within one particular charity retailer, from the perspective of the management. This section considers the collated opinions of the volunteers' and management, as examined through literature and questionnaire responses from across the UK. The volunteer form was conceptualised in chapter 4.2, as a fetishised expression of human doing and subordination, one which is manipulated as a construct of the capitalist social form. Volunteers and managers in charity retailers do not create value, but contribute to the realisation of exchange value through commodities sold in charity retailing (however the sale of bought in goods realises surplus value). The volunteer form is also where power rests within the charity retailing form, as without volunteers, the charity retailer would cease to exist in its present manifestation. This section

presents a profile of the volunteer, one which identifies particular patterns in responses. However, the discussion does not attempt to create a definition of a 'typical' volunteer, as in the antagonistic social form, nothing can be typical without simultaneously being unique, similar yet different, general and yet particular. Through the 'tale of two managers', themes emerged which indicated exploitation and subordination to the reproduction of the charity retailer and the money form. The managers must create an environment which induces consumption, creates a spectacle which encourages people to donate and purchase, maximise their profits. Therefore the dichotomy between the management and volunteers is one of interest as it their respective form and interaction which are the central labour process upon which the reproduction of the charity retailer rests.

Parsons states that 'a...distinctive function of charity shops is their importance in the lives of volunteers' (2002: 587). We know also, that the practices of volunteering are indelible within charity retailers, that they are just as important to the reproduction of the charity retailers as charity retailing is to the volunteers. Broadbridge and Horne, state that 'the typical charity shop volunteer was found to be a white woman over the age of 55, who is married, or widowed and retired, while her motives for volunteering involved a personal affiliation with the nature of the charity' (1993: 14). It is Whithear who suggests that 'the unchallenged image of the "typical" volunteer shop worker as white, middle class, female and over 50, may provide far too stereotypical an observation when attempting to provide an overview...of this particular part of the volunteer community' (1999: 119). In line with Whithear, this research does not attempt to provide a stereotypical, clean cut classification of a 'typical' volunteer, but offers an alternative, conceptually informed understanding of the volunteer form, one which is as much particular as it is general. The responses have been organised in an accessible fashion, using figures and graphical representation. These provide a snapshot of the charity retailing volunteer participants at this time and any central themes are identified. The results are not intended to be seen as concrete and permanent, but indicative of the complex practices of volunteering in-through-and-against capitalist reproduction. As interviewee Dylan (assistant manager) surmises, '*volunteers are huge thing for any charity...effectively your volunteer base is your team*'. Who are these volunteers and what do their questionnaire responses indicate?

The responses from the questionnaires do indicate a predominance of female volunteers in the charity retailing sector (74.8%), the majority of which are over the age of 40 (69.1%), as can be observed in figure 7, below. The age of the respondents were separated to account for the variety within the volunteer form in charity retailing. Volunteers range from the student (15-24), the young/professional (25-39), the middle aged/professional (40-59) and the retirees (60 and over), and were separated in such a manner in response to the age stereotypes discussed by Whithear (1999) and Broadbridge and Horne (1993).

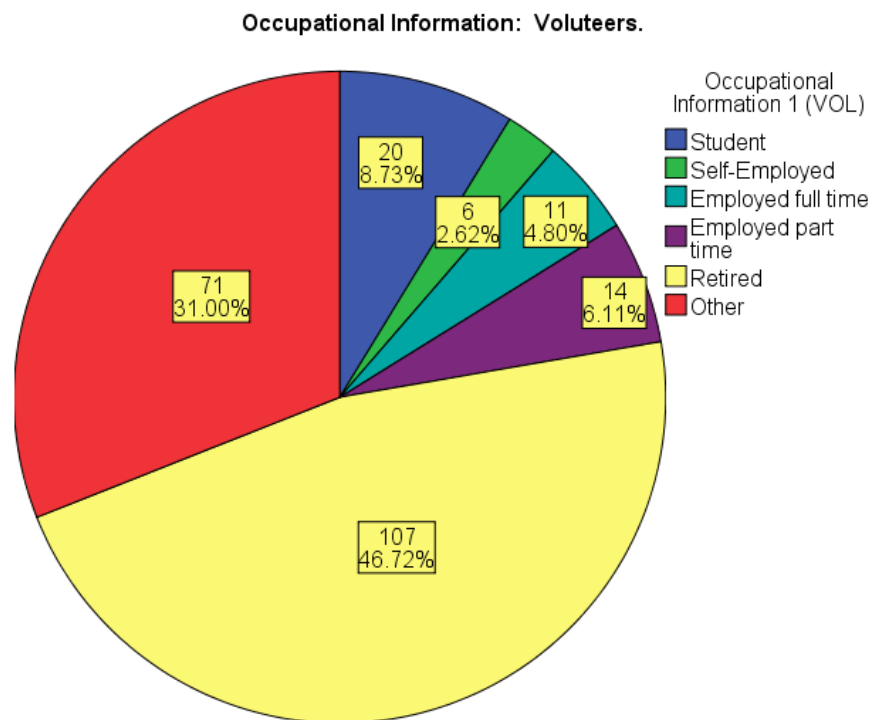
Figure 7: Volunteer Respondents by Age.



The majority of the volunteer respondents were also retired or 'other', which included housewives, disabled people, full time mothers and the unemployed (see figure 8). Although the retirees dominate the responses, the volunteer form also finds representation through students and those in varied employment. Through the capitalist form of charity, volunteering has become accessible to people of all ages, occupations, backgrounds and is something which as a socially conditioned construct, is intended to be open to everyone. Volunteering is diverse, it is a form which must consistently present itself as accessible and open as charity retailing practices would fail to reproduce without it. Charity retailers therefore contribute to the capitalistic subsumption of labour power of any age, income or occupation. Although through

volunteering, the labour power (or limited human doing) expended does not create surplus value. However, capitalism is reproduced through the exchange relation and the redistribution of profit in the charity retailer, so the relation of openness is essential to maintaining the volunteer form as one which channels the capitalist mode of reproduction. Therefore, the reconstitution of the accessible, open volunteering form is an active response to capitalist crises.

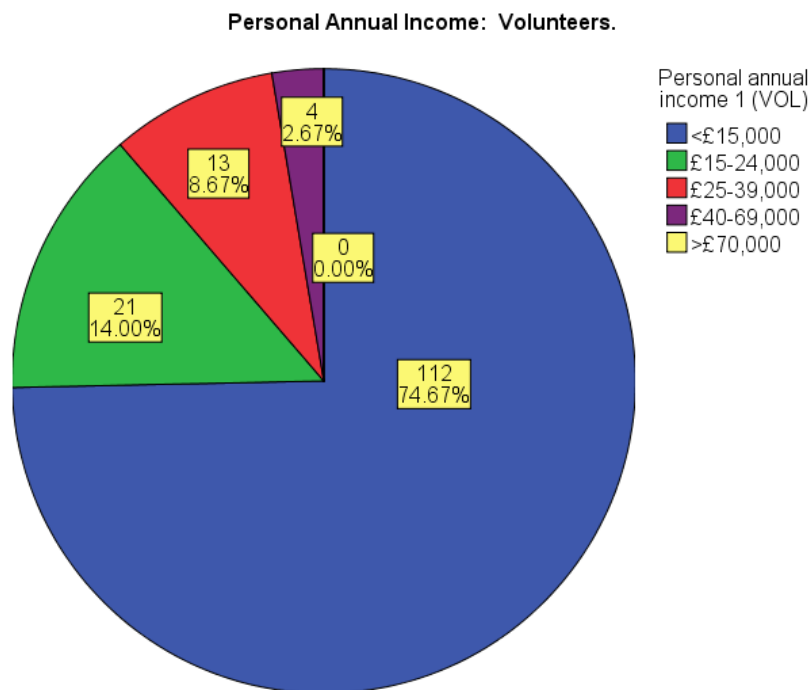
Figure 8: Volunteer Occupations



By volunteering in and through the open, fluid form of the capitalist charity retailer, the volunteer is expending their surplus labour without receipt of a wage. Therefore, the volunteer must concomitantly engage with the circuit of capital to ensure their own survival (as discussed in 4.2). The response detailing the personal annual income of the volunteer is interesting in that only 11.4% of those who completed the questionnaires earned in excess of £25,000. This may be because the majority of those volunteers' are receiving state benefit or a retiree's pension. However the figures also indicate that the volunteer form is not one which is primarily motivated by the personal accumulation of capital, through the money form, with 74.5% earning less than £15,000 annually. The volunteer relation to the money form is a curious one. We know that the volunteer is actively reproducing the redistribution of impoverishment

through the charity retailer. However, the volunteer is engaged with a capitalist form charity which is represented by commodities and the money form. For the purpose of the charity the driving motivation is profit accumulation through commodity exchange. The volunteer themselves is reproducing the charity retail form to accrue as much of the money form as possible for the charity, while they themselves struggle against the money form. The volunteer is enmeshed in the fetishisation of the money form. The personal annual income of volunteers' can be seen in figure 9.

Figure 9: Volunteers Personal Annual Income



What do the volunteers themselves understand by 'volunteer' and what does it indicate about labour processes, fetishisation and capitalist spectacle? The following are responses to the question **'How would you define the term volunteer?'**

V1: *'Unpaid'.*

V76: *'One who works the same as paid staff only without pay.'*

V102: *'Someone who donates their labour to charity.'*

V107: *'Helping society, the poor'.*

V189: *'Someone who devotes any leisure time to help out anybody in need'.*

V204: *'Someone who is prepared to help for the common good'*.

Through these responses we can observe the capitalist constructs of work, labour, charity, society, leisure and the 'common good'. Each of the answers is imbued with further questions. We know the capitalist notions of the poor are represented by the money and commodity forms, rather than impoverishment due to the capitalist mode of reproduction. The 'poor' in the case of V107, are those who need assistance in reconciling with the means of survival. The 'common good', helping society, devoting leisure time (another creation of capitalism) are taken for granted socially formed notions, grandiose ideas of effecting change, when really through the act of volunteering, change is restricted and manipulated by capital. The responses indicate a form which is subsumed (happy in its alienation as such) into the spectacular notion of charity, where labour finds expression through the non-wage relation. The form of charity is one which is accepted as something positive in society, rather than a form existing in the negative, struggling against (yet reproducing) the effects of capitalist reproduction. Through the volunteer responses the interpassive nature of their actions emerges. Who exactly is V189 'helping' through charity retailing? There is no direct link to the recipient of the charity, it is an action which is removed from the reality of those, separated from the redistribution of profit realised. For V189 it is the idea of helping those in need which defines volunteering for them. Help and need, donating (V102) and working unpaid (V1 & V76) are creations of capitalism which encourage feelings of selflessness and promote the concept of capitalist charity. So the definition of volunteering by the volunteers themselves is itself a continual process of fetishisation.

Gregson, Crewe & Brooks suggest through social reproduction the act of volunteering itself has become associated with 'strong notions of charitable giving: to see volunteering as philanthropic in its motivations' (2002: 1673). Although this statement could easily be assumed to be true (a truth created and constantly perpetuated by capitalism), it was something which was addressed through the questionnaires distributed. What are the motivations for volunteering? Some interesting responses were expressed by volunteer participants to the question **'How did you become a volunteer and what were your reasons for doing so?'**

V10: *'At a loose end'.*

V105: *'I had time to spare so I thought I would use it for a useful purpose.'*

V109: *'To give something in return for all the care and kindness received during the final stages of my late wife's illness.'*

V111: *'I viewed it as a therapeutic activity, following the death of my 16 year old son. Also I had been out of the workplace for a long time bringing up my 6 children and saw it as a way to get up to date references should I decide to return to paid employment.'*

V132: *'I was made redundant and needed something to fill in the time.'*

V148: *'To boost self-esteem and help with mental illness after rape.'*

V156: *'To get out of the house in the winter months.'*

V189: *'It is local'.*

V212: *'Like books, wanted activity on my CV'.*

The varied responses somewhat contradict the notion that philanthropy and a personal affiliation with the charity are the key motivations for volunteering. The relationship is much more complex and is inherently connected with the individual and their own life experiences. The idea of having time to spare, or being at a loose end, indicates that volunteering through the of charity retail form has become an accepted social 'norm', that people are actively aware of the reputation and presence of these retailers, through which they can put their time to something 'useful'. Volunteering and charity retailers have a mutually beneficial relationship, and those who engage in volunteering it seem to do so for primarily personal reasons. The social aspect of volunteering is central, especially to the older volunteers, many of whom choose their specific charity retailer, not because of any affiliation with the charity but because it is close to home! As can be seen from the responses to the definition of volunteering, the charitable action is important, but from the responses above, it cannot be seen as the central motivation in why people volunteer. Many of the volunteers are there for more selfish, rather than selfless reasons, such as atonement (V108), therapy (V111 & V148) or enhancing their CV (V212). With the continual reconstitution of the charity retailer, the volunteer form has altered and is constantly changing, just as the reasons

for volunteering are not static or easily classified as 'typical'. Classifications assert restrictions on understanding the form of the volunteer. Although a theme which has emerged from the responses is that volunteering has become a more self-interested personal action in capitalist reproduction. Shop manager Ashley concurs, stating *'there are people where it doesn't matter at all what the logo over the door is they just like it, it's a nice bright shop, or the woman who runs it is younger, sexier, or the man who is the manager is more interesting or whatever, it's just whatever people react to.'* The volunteer form seems to be less concerned with philanthropy and more concerned with how they can directly benefit from volunteering through a personal reaction to the specific charity retailer. Through the reproduction of capitalism, both the volunteer and charity retailing forms have become subsumed, representing something through their appearance and affiliations which is actually something very different to their antagonistic form.

One tick box response question was included in the volunteer questionnaire, which asked the respondent **'please rate on the scale below your level of agreement with the reasons provided for the continuing success of charity shops in Great Britain and Northern Ireland?'** Each volunteer had twelve different statements to address and a scale to record their answer, moving from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree'. The same question was also included in the management questionnaire. By combining five of these different statements, a general perspective on the ongoing reconstitution of the charity retailer through the 'professionalisation' of their retailing form emerged. The responses of both the managers and volunteers are presented through the following graphs and figures.

The volunteers and management differed in response to the statement regarding **'the effects of the media and marketing in society contribute to the success of charity shops in Great Britain today'**. As can be observed from the figures 10 and 11, only 55.9% of volunteers agreed with the statement in total compared to a total of 73.6% of management who were in agreement with the effects of media and marketing on the social form of the charity retailer.

Figure 10: Volunteer Response to ‘the effects of the media and marketing in society contribute to the success of charity shops in Great Britain today’.

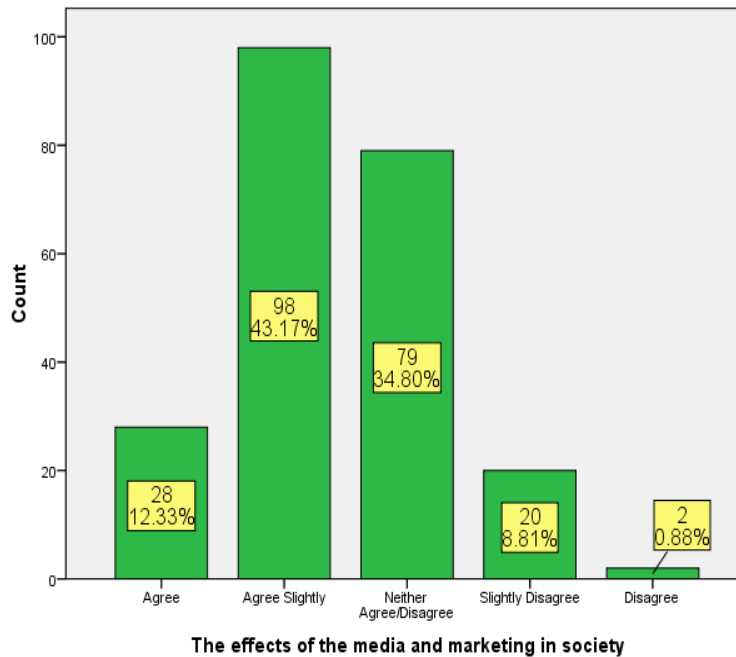
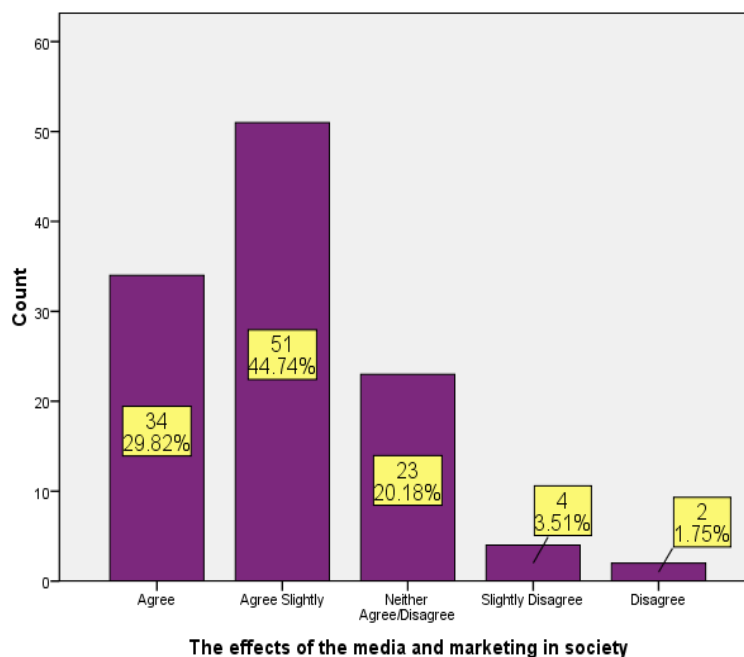


Figure 11: Management Response to ‘the effects of the media and marketing in society contribute to the success of charity shops in Great Britain today’.



One volunteer however, directly commented on how their parent charity had influenced her decision to volunteer through these mediums:

V168: *‘I decided on the charity because I agree with what work they do. I imagine it was their advertising and PR which encouraged me in this decision. ’*

Ashley, one of the managers interviewed assesses the lack of awareness through the volunteer body related to the work of the media, the parent charity or even her own direct management. Many of the volunteers have *'no concept of what you are doing for the rest of the week, so that brings with it some issues...most people only see their shift'*, and therefore engage with the labour processes reproducing the charity retailing floor only. Another manager Kelly states that *'you tend to live in your own little shops world...'* and even if you do provide information from head office about what the parent charity has been doing, that doesn't necessarily increase the volunteers awareness of what the charity is doing. As Blair says *'...getting people to read those [documents] is a different kettle of fish and I do try to make the point and say you know they're there for you, for your information, but a lot of people aren't coming to Oxfam because they are wanting to help the charity'*, therefore what and how the charity is publicised and promoted is of little relevance to them. Raising the awareness of volunteers about the effects on the charity retailer as a result of publicity from media and marketing is also it seems, not something which the management seek to address. Area manager Alex states *'there is so much to do in the basic running of the shop which is becoming harder and harder that the additional pressures of all the different initiatives that they [head office] want you to do sometimes...is an awful lot of pressure on managers who feel that they are pressured anyway...'* The management realise the power of positive publicity in capitalist charity retailing and therefore are continually under pressure to alter and acquiesce with the dictates of head office (for top-down management see 5.3.2) to ensure that such publicity remains positive and repetitive. The volunteers however, are relatively oblivious to the effects of media and marketing through which charity retailing can be represented, they are content in their own store, content in their volunteering, content in their subordination. It has become obvious through the research, that many volunteers' (especially those more selfish than selfless) do not look beyond the reproduction of their own charity retailer, nor do they seek to, therefore they fail to question the consequences of their actions.

The volunteers also do not seem to connect the effects of media and marketing with the statement **'the changing image of charity shops, "destigmatisation", contributes to the success of the charity shops today'** (see figures 12 and 13). Of the management respondents 89.7% agree that the destigmatisation of charity retailers has been (and

continues to be) an important aspect of their 'success', in realising exchange values and the money form. However, although 80.7% of volunteers recognise the importance of destigmatisation, they fail to see the inherent interconnectedness of how destigmatisation as portrayed in the media and marketing which permeates through the social form can provide insight into the reconstitution of the charity retailing form. As aforementioned, the volunteer form can be conceptualised as one which is happy to be subordinate, failing to challenge the nuances and complexities which reproduce their practices, subsumed by socially constructed capitalist notions.

Figure 12: Volunteer Response to whether 'Destigmatisation' affects the success of a charity retailer.

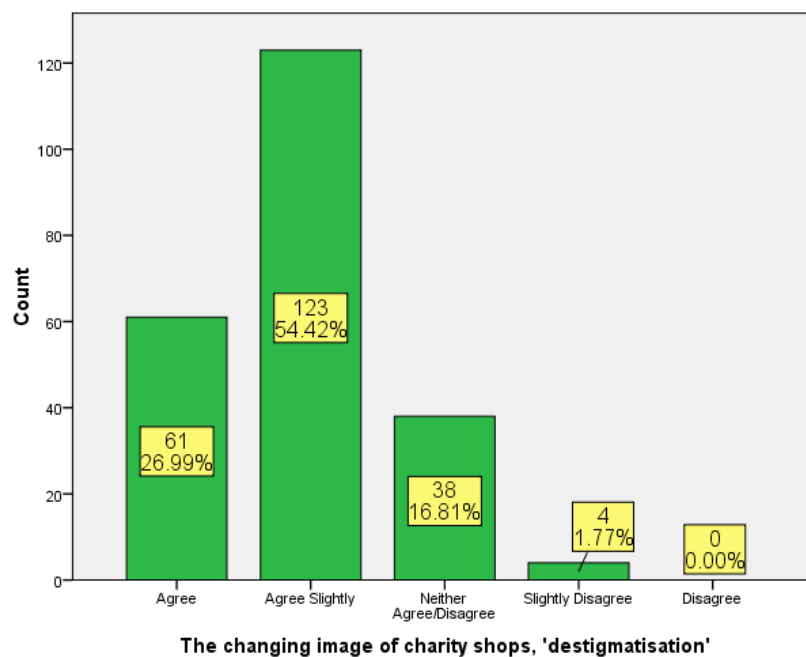
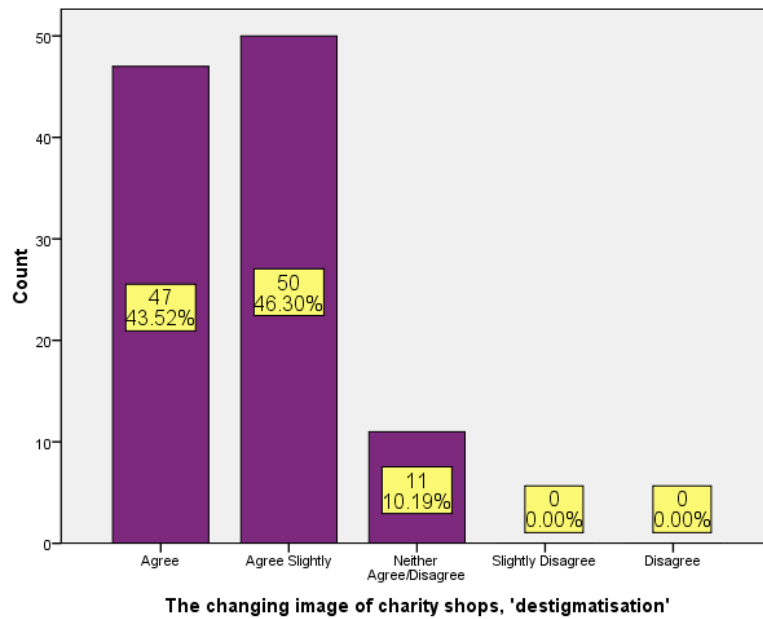


Figure 13: Management Response to whether ‘Destigmatisation’ affects the success of a charity retailer.



Other aspects of ‘professionalisation’ which were commented on through the tick box question included the following potential reasons for the continuing success of charity shops in Great Britain and Northern Ireland:

- **‘Renewed consumer interest in vintage & retro items – changes in fashion.’**

Again, these responses illustrated the differences between the management and the volunteers, with the latter not realising the extent to which changes in the reproduction of the retail market are inherently connected with the charity retailer. The volunteers’ who strongly agreed that the resurgence of vintage and retro items contributed to the reforming of the charity retailing relation numbered 25.8%, compared with 42.9% of management.

- **‘The interiors and presentation within charity shops today.’**

There is also significant disparity of opinion between volunteers and managers when considering the more ‘professionalised’ charity retail interiors, with 29.9% of volunteers’ strongly agreeing with the statement compared with 51.3% of managers.

- **‘Increased awareness of “green” initiatives, such as reusing and recycling’.**

However, when the notion of ‘green’ initiatives was suggested as a factor contributing to the continual reconstitution of charity retailing, 87.2% of volunteers’ agreed compared with 82.3% of management. Although this is not

a significant discrepancy in opinion, it indicates that the management are better informed as to the reasons for continual professionalisation. Such reasons encompass a variety of contributing factors of which the management are conscious of due to communications from head office.

One interconnected relation which was surprisingly observed as being of very little influence over the evolving form of the charity retailer by both volunteers and management alike, was the statement **‘the regulatory role of the government is important for the continuing success of charity shops in Great Britain and Northern Ireland’** (see figures 14 and 15).

Figure 14: Volunteers Response to ‘the State Form is important for the success of Charity Retailers’.

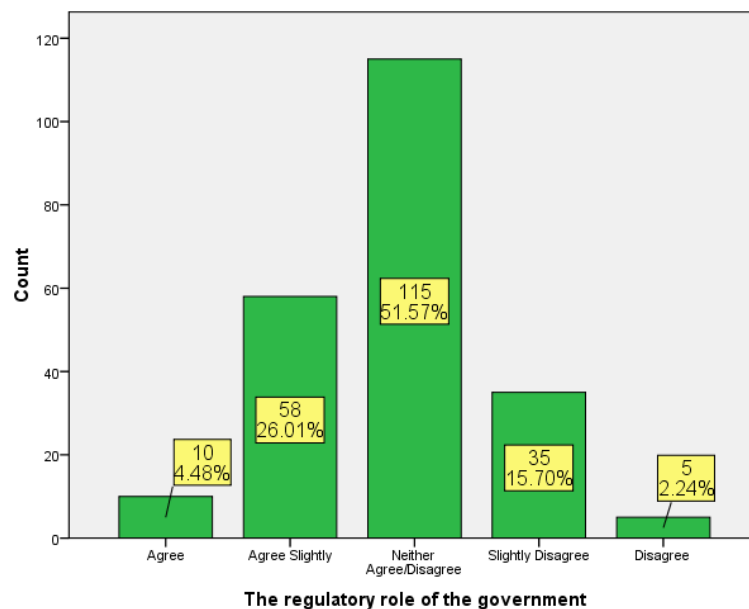
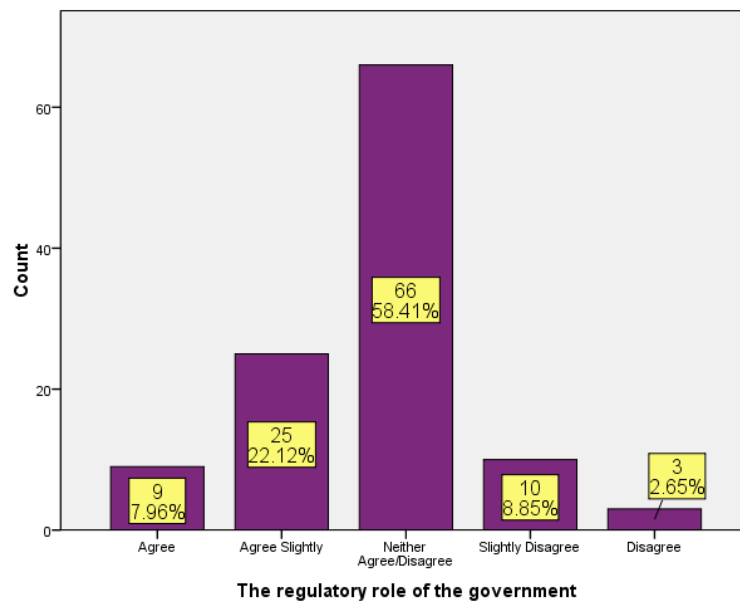


Figure 15: Management Response to ‘the State Form is important for the success of Charity Retailers’.



From these responses, the state form is seen by both volunteers and management as something which has minimal relation to the charity retailing form, something which through earlier discussion (see sections 3.4 and 5.2) we know is a fallacy, an untenable notion. This response to the question regarding the state form further indicates how the labour processes involved in the daily mundanities of charity retailing reproduction are reproducing fetishisation, the spectacular, and the capitalist mode of reproduction, expressed in and through the state form. The state is not external to the social form, but rather pervades it, relating to the charity retail form not just through legislation and governance, but also in and through the labour relation. There was much indecision and uncertainty about the effect of the government and legislation, with both the volunteers' (51.2%) and the management (58.4%). Either each group of respondents were uninformed about legislation and management therefore unable to either agree/disagree, or conversely, both sides thought that the state relation had no effect whatsoever upon the charity retailing form.

This sections analysis has illustrated how the volunteer form is one subsumed by the capitalist construct of charity and its reproduction. The figures demonstrate how the volunteer form is one of complexities and difference, especially when considered in

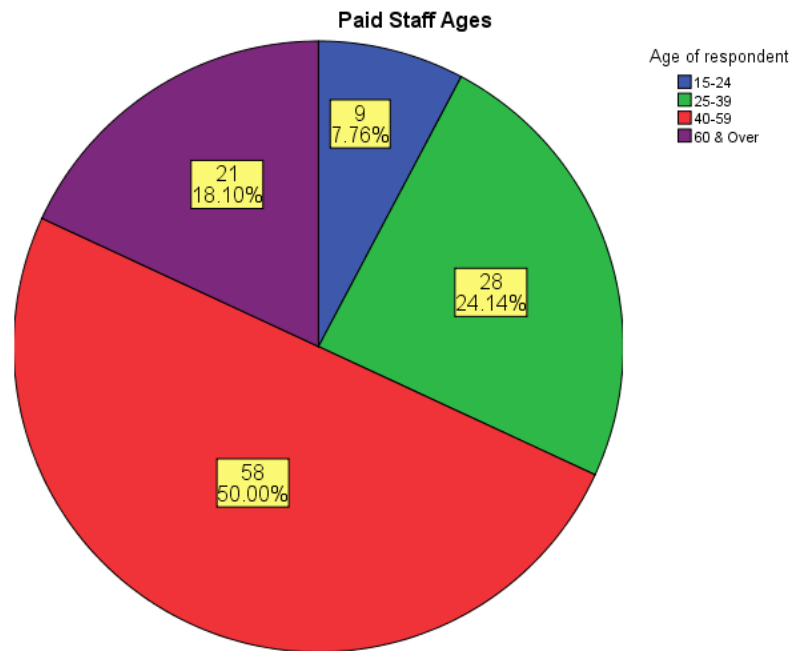
respect of management responses assessing the process of professionalisation. It is a form which attempts to change the social form through volunteering, because that is how capitalist practices have manifested themselves within volunteering relations. By actively subsuming the volunteer form, its effects are limited and restricted, this does not however indicate that the form of the volunteer lacks struggle, even if it lacks awareness. The form is hopeful, struggling against the consequences of capitalist reproduction, even though through charity retailing those who are in 'need' are further separated from their means of survival and the capitalist mode of reproduction is reimposed. Volunteers continue to struggle against the mode of being denied, to express their own creativity through volunteering, to 'do' rather than to 'labour'. Many of the antagonisms of the charity retailing form can be further observed in relations of volunteers and management. Prior to this, a profile of the management particulars is presented as it was with the volunteer form, through graphical representation.

5.3.4: Particulars of Management

The following section examines the profile of the managers and their perspectives on the practices which reproduce the charity retailing form. Although some of the key frustrations have been introduced in sub-section 5.3.2 and 5.3.3, this section seeks to expand upon any further themes which have emerged from the both the questionnaires and interview responses.

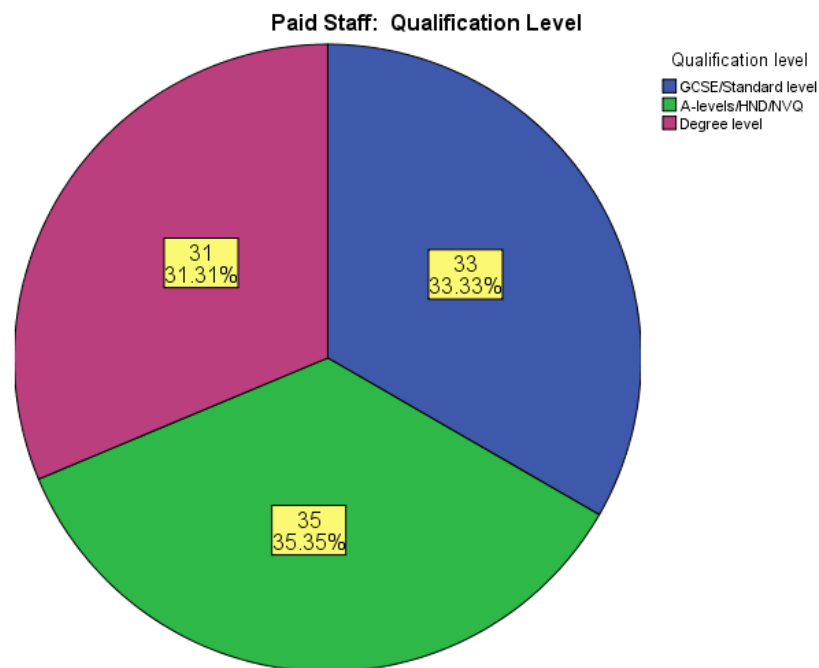
Parsons states that 'at present women constitute 90 percent of charity shop managers...Managers must also command a developed set of communication skills to manage volunteers adequately as well as a sense of entrepreneurship to make creative (and profitable) use of limited stock and labour processes...the work is poorly paid and holds few opportunities in the way of career progression' (2002: 588). Similar themes have emerged from the research undertaken into the management of the charity retail form. From the questionnaire responses, the female managers account for 77.6% of respondents, 50% of all managers are between age 40-59, although the ages of respondents overall are varied. These can be seen displayed in figure 16, below.

Figure 16: Management Ages



The following figure **17** illustrates the qualifications of the charity retail management respondents. It is curious to observe that the percentages of respondents with qualifications at GCSE/Standard level, A-Levels and Degrees are relatively similar, ranging between 31.3 - 35.3%. Such figures demonstrate the open and accessible nature of charity retailing once more, as a form of employment which does not necessarily demand specific academic qualifications. However, considering the level of wage offered (see **5.3.3**), it is unlikely that academic qualifications are of importance to the charity retailer, more the suitability of the applicant for the position. Charity retail manager Blair, who had both a university degree and experience in retailing states that *'one of the stipulations of my employment almost, not that it's written, but verbally [suggested] when I was interviewed, was that the shop needs personality and that's one thing that I have buckets of!'* It emerged from interviews and questionnaire responses that from the perspective of management the salary offered does not reflect the hours worked for the charity.

Figure 17: Management Qualifications



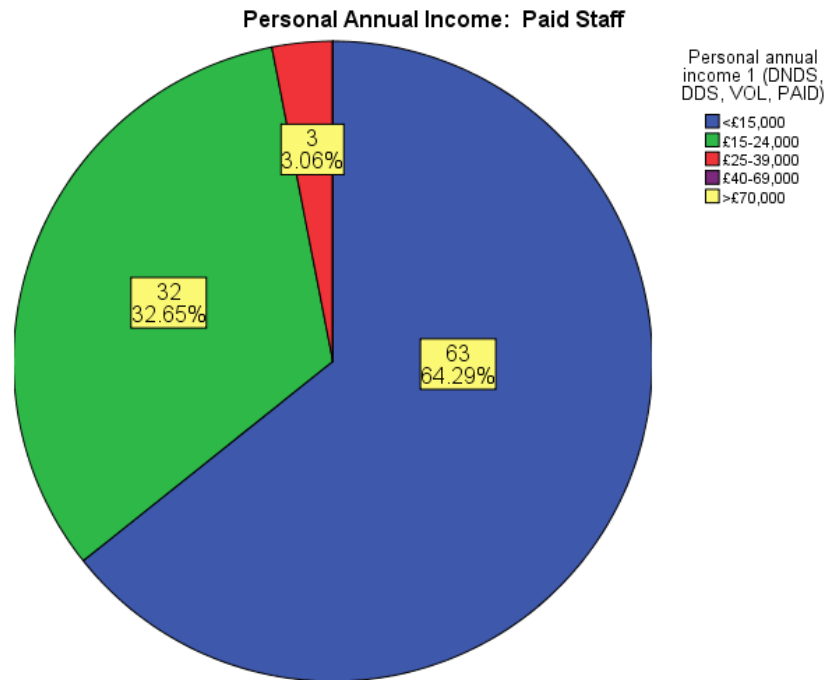
Manager Ashley comments that for charities *'a lot of them, they want somebody who has retail experience but whether with the salaries they are offering in the different parts of the country...whether they get that I think it's very varied.'* Ashley recounts a meeting with a charity retail manager, working in England:

'I had a very interesting conversation...with a guy whose partner had retired and was extremely wealthy so they both upped sticks and moved out of London and he decided that he wanted to something so he went into retailing charity wise, so he wasn't in it for the money at all, because his partner had made a fortune doing something...'

Although the previous section commented on how the volunteer form must reproduce within capitalism to ensure survival and consumption of the means of survival, it is interesting to think of charity retailing as a career option after you have earned enough money, therefore the salary is of little consequence. This is not the case however with most managers. Kelly talks about management within her parent charity, saying that *'I've noticed [that] a lot of staff who have been doing it for years, not to be kind of stereotypical, but a lot of them are kind of middle class women whose husbands have a paying job'*. Although class is relation, it is one which is represented through society by the money form, therefore it is not surprising that many charity retail managers have partners who are engaging with the capitalist mode of

production in return for a significantly more substantial wage. The charity then is benefitting from the excess (absolute) surplus labour expended by the management, exploiting the 'guilt' complex associated with working for a charity. The personal annual income of the management respondents is illustrated in figure 18.

Figure 18: Annual Income: Charity Retail Managers



One of the most consistent issues emanating from the research into the management of the charity retailer is the relation of management with the volunteer form and its fluid nature. Volunteer retention is an issue. Area manager Alex talks about the most significant change in volunteering in the twenty-first century:

'I think the problem now is that the volunteering sector is changing and the whole of the world is changing...so some volunteers...like the volunteer who used to stay for 20 – 30 years is not really there anymore...if a manager's got people coming and he's having to retrain, retrain, retrain all the time, he does not have the time to do the job he should be doing...it becomes very difficult for the manager because they need volunteers.'

Many of the 'new' forms of volunteering, through the New Deal and relative work placements have resulted in a specific type of short term volunteer, like Alex refers to. This combined with those volunteers who are engaging with charity retail in order to

enhance their CV and work experience records tend to move on when they find paid employment. Some of the managers interviewed had contrasting feelings on this, as the charity is consistently expecting recruitment and sufficient numbers of volunteers to ensure the retailer is reproducing in the most profitable manner, however when volunteers are more short term in nature, it means more pressure is on recruitment and training. Also, it seems that those volunteers who are willing to take more responsibility and become voluntary managers are those who are actively seeking paid employment and therefore will only be a short term volunteer. It is a conflict which means the expectations and daily tasks of the manager are continually altering, depending on their volunteers.

Blair describes the antagonisms of short term volunteers: *'...one of them has just got a full time job and she leaves on Monday and I am so happy she has got that job, she did say the reason that she got that job was because of the experience that I have given her, but I have spent the last six weeks training her intensively and she is really good at being a volunteer assistant manager...who else do I have?'*

Jamie looks takes a more positive approach to the situation: *'I think it is really good [getting people back to work through charity]...I mean Mary was a really good example of that, you know, Mary was a great fantastic person and [the charity] gained an awful lot in all sorts of ways...Ultimately because of the skills and the talents she gained by working for [the charity] she got herself an appointment, good result as far as I was concerned!'*

Such issues revisit the discussion of the form and purpose of charity retailing form. If it is to be considered as any other retail outlet, then how can it reproduce whilst relying on a workforce composed primarily of volunteers who are only able to commit to short term involvement? This is another example of how the charity retailer has become subsumed into the state form, as a medium of support for those in society who do not actively engage in the wage labour relation. However, ironically it is the management of the charity retailer who then expends surplus labour power in order to compensate for the problems encountered within the reproduction of the charity retailing form. Considering the capitalist notion of 'charity', as defined by access to the money form

through the wage, it seems as though the management themselves are so exploited that they too are in need of capitalist charity.

Whilst researching a charity retailer for the purpose of participant observation research, one of the volunteer experiences was notable. Niall was a volunteer, who became a volunteer manager. He worked as a part time journalist, writing reviews for various Edinburgh newspapers and therefore was able to engage with both the non-wage and wage relations simultaneously. Niall was voluntary manager for two consecutive days a week, when the manager was absent. He was in the position for 12 months when he decided to start applying for part-time assistant management jobs in charity retail. Such a position was advertised in a sister charity retailer, for the same parent charity. Niall was interviewed and rejected. He felt like he had been treated poorly by the charity in question, as he was performing the exact tasks of an assistant manager already, but as a volunteer. He felt that his loyalty and contribution to the charity was not recognised, he was unappreciated and therefore, he left his position as a voluntary manager and cut all associations with the charity. Niall was comfortable with his decision, that it was justified, however failed to see that his resignation had a negative effect upon the charity through which he had been volunteering. The corporate orientated retail strategy employed by the charity for recruitment purposes had succeeded in alienating a former volunteer and unfortunately, relieving one of its own charity retailers of its voluntary manager. This is a further example of what Jamie said in 5.3.3, about charity retailers being *'less hearts and minds and more pounds and pence'*. It is an antagonism between both charity and retailing and relations of management and volunteers.

Communication between management and volunteers is another issue which can prove distracting and difficult to both the manager themselves and other volunteers. As manager Kelly states, their charity *'want you to take anyone and everyone on...they want you to tick as many minority boxes as possible, at the same time you're responsible for that shop and [the parent charity] aren't helping you [directly]'*. Manager Ashley states that *'recruitment has got worse'* and as Blair states *'it's a joke, you can't magic them up'*, but a lot of the managers discuss how they are selective about their volunteer recruitment when they are in a position to be as volunteer numbers are high. As Dylan says *'you don't want to be so desperate for staff that you'll*

take on unsuitable people because that can cause an awful lot of problems...' for both management and volunteers. Blair discusses how communicating with volunteers can be problematic:

'It's not a whole bunch of people with the same ideals coming together, it's a whole bunch of people with different ideals, supposedly coming together to work...I am never very sure we all know what we are doing or why we are doing it and the communication should really be down to the managers, explaining to volunteers, but there isn't often enough time in the day.'

Communication is also an issue if there is one volunteer who requires more guidance or has special needs. Managers have mixed experiences, which depend on the particular volunteer. Dylan talks about how one volunteer *'called Lawrence, he's got quite a few mental health issues and disabilities as well...he comes in and he's changed so much from just coming in...It's a very social thing.'* However, Dylan also states that you need to achieve a precarious balance with special need volunteers as *'it wouldn't be fair for someone who has a lot of special needs...we wouldn't be able to give our full attention to someone and we wouldn't want to make it awkward'*. In the charity retailer where participant observation was undertaken we had a volunteer who had Asperger syndrome. During their shifts, the manager was unable to continue with very little of their own work and their time with other volunteers was interrupted and disjointed, as the volunteer with Asperger's dominated most of the manager's attention. Other volunteers were noticeably uncomfortable and some even changed days to avoid being in this environment. This is an example of how volunteer choice is important, as according to Dylan, *'...if someone is completely unsuitable it is much harder to get rid of them and work them out of the system.'* In this case, however, eventually, the volunteer with Asperger's didn't return and charity retailing returned to its owned skewed reproduction. The management are somehow expected to be all things to all people, providing constant guidance for volunteers' with special needs and directions for other volunteers, as well occupying roles as diverse as friend, confidant and counsellor. In addition to this, they must competently fulfil their own job requirements. The managers are pulled in all directions, torn asunder and ruptured by the reproduction of both capitalism and charity retailing.

Ashley also draws attention to communication problems due to the paid/unpaid dichotomy between the management and volunteers, stating:

'I think the communication is much more complicated. In a paid situation on a Monday morning you could say well this is how it's going to be done, you wouldn't still be arguing about it Tuesday...But it is a lot more complicated on a volunteer basis because if you are paid...you are obliged to do it. People challenge you a lot more than if they were paid.'

Volunteers' are opinionated, they are not, as Alex says, *'backwards in coming forwards'*. Ashley talks of how *'it is easier to snarl when you are a volunteer as opposed to a paid manager.'* And Blair says *'volunteers are something else! I'm much more beholden to volunteers than I would be to paid staff...I don't really have any sort of authority.'* She continues, *'volunteers can just walk away...it's just one of those things you have to get on with,'* but management do not have that luxury. They are caught in a 'catch 22' situation, where the volunteer form holds all the power. Ashley has an appropriate anecdote for the volunteer/management dichotomy of inter-reliance and interconnection, although it is a relation where the volunteer form must always be treated with caution:

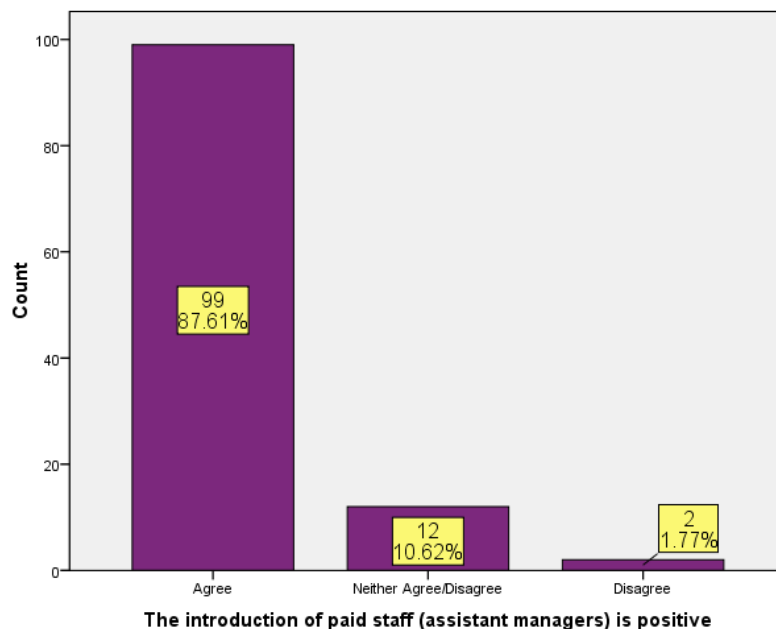
'Paid staff and the volunteers in the organisation, talking about the tail wagging the dog or the other way round? They have to work together. I have seen where a paid member of staff was actually evicted, for want of a better word, by the volunteers. The power of the volunteers is huge.'

Issues of communication are not just an issue between the management and volunteers in the charity retailer. The manager is subject to top down governance through their retail hierarchies. As Kelly says *'[the parent charity] does make an effort to communicate...em and I think they do try and give credit where credit's due...eh, but sometimes you think they could be a lot more supportive. They want to have their cake and eat it, run themselves a tight business but they don't want to pay for that and I think sometimes you've kind of got to put up and shut up.'* This introduces us to another catch 22 in charity retailing: do the parent charities spend money to make money, through investing in more paid members of staff, or does that detract too profit from the charity itself?

The management questionnaire included a tick box response question relevant to staff structure. From the respondents, 94.8% agreed that **‘the introduction of paid managers is hugely positive’**, 87.6% agreed also that **‘the introduction of paid staff (assistant managers) is positive’** (see figure 19) and 45.5% agreed that **‘paid staff (non managerial) should be introduced’**. This brings out further antagonisms between management and volunteers, further to those experienced by the aforementioned voluntary manager Niall. Blair vehemently states how she feels about volunteer management:

‘It is outrageous as far as I’m concerned, I think it’s ridiculous that people who are giving their time for free are expected to carry the responsibilities...count money, deal with it, which is dangerous anyway, take it to the bank, make sure it’s right, file the paperwork- THAT is wrong and I have said is all along and I will continue to. I’ve said it to head office and I’ve said it to my area manager, it’s NOT right, there should be somebody else there, paid to help with the shop running, it makes everyone else safer and it makes everyone more confident in their jobs’.

Figure 19: Management Opinions on the Introduction of Paid Assistant Managers



Blair talks about how she feels that paying someone additional in the long term would actually make very little difference in terms of financial outlay and would be more profitable to the charity retailer. Then, *‘everyone would feel more supported, no one would be under this pressure (from those in their ivory tower!) that we shouldn’t be*

under and the actual manager would be able to actually concentrate on what they are supposed to be doing.'

There are an abundance of struggles reproducing the form of the charity retail manager, struggles on a daily basis with stock, volunteers and customers next to struggles with top down, head office management. The charity retail manager is an example of how difficult the reproduction of capitalist charity retailing is to consistently implement. With the antagonisms of the volunteer/management dichotomy their situation is not made any easier. The charity retail manager is doubly subordinate, to those above them in the retail hierarchy operating in the interests of profit accumulation and to the volunteer form, where the power in the labour process rests and each volunteer has to be individually accounted for. The manager is dictated to by head office, although they are not in a position to dictate to the volunteer, their authority is restricted and they must operate under the cloud of 'guilt' which the charity directly benefits from in the form of surplus labour power. To be a charity retail manager, with their creativity ruptured and pulled in all directions, is to be a capitalistic juggler, with too many opposing balls in the air.

5.4: Chapter Summary

This chapter has considered the historical evolution of the charity retailing form, illustrating the relation between the state, the labour processes and the charity retailer. Since its inception, the charity retailer has developed from what was firstly a pre-capitalist relation with charity incorporating direct giving and the formal subsumption of labour power which progressed into the capitalist charity retailer, under the real subsumption of labour. The notion of corporate social responsibility was introduced and considered as a mutually beneficial alliance between a capitalist charity (Oxfam) and capitalist corporation (M&S), one which enhances the notion of spectacular commodity consumption. The chapter then moved from the general to the more particular examining the experiences of two charity retail managers, before looking at the forms of the management/volunteer relation and its inherent challenges. The chapter has demonstrated how both the volunteer and the management have become subsumed by the capitalist mode of reproduction and are constantly experiencing subordination and exploitation.

Chapter 6:

The Charity City

6.1: Edinburgh Expressed

In this chapter discussion turns to the case study city of Edinburgh, through which the continually evolving practices of the charity retailer are detailed. The concepts introduced in the earlier chapters are interwoven through this analysis, which provides an empirically informed theorisation of the processes of spatialisation at play in and through the charity retailing form. Capitalist reproduction realises the urban form and the space of the built environment (see chapter 4), it produces and reproduces space, but those who engage in the property relations also reproduce and create space. Charity retailers are spaces of heterotopia, of difference, which are simultaneously spaces of non-heterotopic spaces of mundanity. Spatial relations are continually reconstituted and changing, they are fluid and dynamic. The form of the charity retailer has developed through these spaces, reproducing labour processes, the state form, (chapter 5) the retail market and the social form itself. This chapter introduces Edinburgh as city before considering the retail market which capitalist reproduction has realised (and continues to realise). The spatialisation of the capitalist charity retailer within Edinburgh is then considered and its reconstitution is conceptualised through the capitalist notions of need and poverty. Certain specifics about Edinburgh are discussed such as the 'Edinburgh charity map' and the relation between charity retailers and real estate. Much of the detail is drawn once more from the interviews, participant observation and questionnaire responses.

6.2: The City in Perspective: A Brief Snapshot

Edinburgh is a city with a rich heritage and history. It has been the country's capital since 1437 and is home to the devolved Scottish parliament. The city was central in the Eighteenth century period of 'enlightenment' and has been a seat of education since the formation of The University of Edinburgh by royal charter in 1583. The city is also home to Heriot-Watt University (1821), Queen Margaret University (1875) and Napier University (1958). The Census figures (2001) indicates that Edinburgh has a high level of educated individuals as almost a third of the working population have

obtained degrees, a figure higher than the national average of 20%. The economy is centred on the service, business and financial services, with the emergence of the capitalist financial institutions traceable to the founding of the Bank of Scotland (1695). Royal charter marked the creation of the Royal Bank of Scotland (1747) and Edinburgh as a financial centre today is the second largest in the UK and the fourth largest in Europe³³. The city is youthful and levels of disposable capital are high, although the class relation is still expressed through the urban form. Edinburgh in 2010 was voted the 'most desirable place to live in the UK'³⁴. Tourism is an important aspect to Edinburgh's economic reproduction. Currently the profit generated through tourism in the city amounts to £1.7 billion (Edinburgh Tourism, A Framework for Growth, 2007: 2). The city has been the recipient of the 'Guardian/Observer Travel Award as the UK's Best City' for the last seven years, with tourism accounting for '9% of the workforce' (Edinburgh Tourism, A Framework for Growth, 2007: 2).

6.2.1: The Retail Market in Figures

The retail market is a significant contributor to the economy of the UK and fresh initiatives are constantly being introduced in this period of financial crises to reconstitute the retail market, by continuing to revitalise and regenerate many of the nation's neglected High streets. Capital is being redirected into these High streets following the flight of capital to out of town locations in the 1970s. Such regenerated retail areas are now 'gentrified' and associated with spectacular notions of being bohemian or alternative, yet they remain subsumed by capitalist practices of retailing. DTZ reported that 'retail was the third largest service sector employer in the UK, employing around 3 million people in full-time and 1.75 million in part-time employment' (2008: 5). Retailing is a crises ridden aspect of capitalist reproduction which needs to be readdressed especially considering the recessionary crises of recent years. In addition to providing an insight into retailing in Edinburgh, this section also emphasises the community aspect to retail regeneration, for local economies and residents, as the retail market has a diverse employment structure, one which is continually reproducing and perpetuating the separation in unity of the class relation through the social form.

³³ http://www.edinburgh-inspiringcapital.com/invest_edinburgh_-_business_in/why_invest_in_edinburgh/global_financial_centre.aspx

³⁴ http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/scotland/edinburgh_and_east/8199815.stm

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s with the advent of consumer culture, capital was concentrated away from the High streets and city centres and new urban forms, such as the department store, the mall and another new concept: the out of town shopping centre emerged as a consequence. In Edinburgh, such developments take the form of Fort Kinnaird, The Gyle Centre, Ocean Terminal and even Almondvale in Livingston, 27km away from the city. Today the High street is being revisited and Edinburgh is no exception to the rule, with the 'City Centre Princes Street Development Framework-Consultation Draft' describing 'the need to encourage and facilitate new modern retail development in the city centre and reinforce the position of Princes Street' (Planning Committee, City of Edinburgh Council, 2007: 1). This publication follows on from the 'Edinburgh Area Retail Needs Study' (EARNs) (Halcrow Group Limited, 2005) which comprehensively detailed the need for improvement within the city centres retailing environment. With the implementation of the tram network along Princes Street and the introduction of several new retailing arenas, including Multrees Walk, the Omni Centre and the high end retailer Harvey Nichols, the necessary regenerative investment is slowly progressing. However, it is unlikely that the estimated £6 billion investment into Edinburgh's development projects, including plans for city centre retailing, will come to fruition as expected, due to the negative effects of capitalist restructuring emerging from the accumulation crises.

The 'Edinburgh by Numbers' report confirms the importance of retailing to the reproduction of the city form, describing it as a 'key' sector, with 27,598 employees in 2006, equivalent to 9% of the employment structure (City of Edinburgh Council Economic Development Service, 2008: 12). The report observes that the retail market is supported by the city's economically active within the population, at 80.3% and a very low unemployment rate at only 1.7% (City of Edinburgh Council Economic Development Service, 2008: 11). Such figures however do not indicate how the capitalist crises of accumulation will become manifested in retail market, through implications of said crises the labour and money forms. However, Edinburgh is 'the UK's strongest city economy outside of London' (City Development Planning and Strategy, City of Edinburgh Council, 2006: 3).

Upon examining some recent figures available from property market reports, particularly regarding the retail sector, the following figures indicate Edinburgh's position within the Scottish retail sector. CBRE report in their second quarter analysis that 'retail was the strongest performing sector [in Scotland]...high-street shops saw capital growth of 1.8%' (2010: 1). However they also note that rental values declined by 3.6% for the year (2010: 1). Ryden's 66th Scottish Property Review suggests that 'a toxic combination of weak retailer demand, new floor space, and polarisation of expenditure towards regional centres is undermining many established retail locations' (Ryden Scotland, 2010: 3). This scenario is confirmed by GVA Grimley's Research Bulletin as it states Edinburgh has a 'predominance of non-city centre floor space compared to city centre floor space' (2009: 5). However, retailers are still keen to locate in the city centre, with a Primark expected to open in 2011 and several new occupiers present on Princes Street in 2010, including 'Mountain Warehouse and Urban Outfitters' (Ryden, 2010: 12). It is expected that the apparent resilience displayed by the retail market in Edinburgh is likely to continue and eventually improve. Both the rent and ownership markets continue to reproduce and find expression, although this expression has been limited due to the capitalist crises of reproduction. Retailing may be experiencing a lack of capital, but it is likely that this will become reformed into the reproduction of the market. The following section now examines the charity retailer within this market.

6.3: Spatialisation Processes: Charity Retailing in Edinburgh

Edinburgh was considered appropriate for investigation, as it occupies a dominant and influential position as Scotland's capital, with significant retail provision generally and in particular, the charity retailing sector which has been realised through capitalist reproduction. Edinburgh has Census information available (most recently) from 2001 which can be assessed to ascertain the reconstitution of the social form and therefore its charity retailer in the city's built environment. The city boasts a plethora of charity retailers to examine. The spatial growth of Edinburgh's charity retailers is displayed through GIS mapping techniques, through figures **21-24**. To effectively summarise the contrasting presence of charity retailers in the national market and Edinburgh, relevant ratio figures are displayed in Table **7**, which was also included in chapter **2**. This table indicates the overwhelming presence of charity retailers in Edinburgh, with over 2.5

times more in this city than the national average, therefore demonstrating its suitability for a study of this nature.

Table 7: Ratio of Population to Charity Retailers, a Comparison.

	Population (Mil).	No. 'Charity Retailers'	'Charity Retailer' Population Ratio :
Edinburgh	0.468	114	1:4,106
Great Britain & N. Ireland	60.975	5656	1:10,781

A combination of considerations, those reproducing within the form of charity and those it is inherently interconnected with (real estate relations, the labour processes, the economy and the state form) all contribute to determining their retail locations. Another contributing factor is the higher rental and rate levels at these locations, which charity retailers would be unable to meet and remain profitable. They are not financially viable sites for the charity, as profit levels would diminish due to amount exchanged for space only, decreasing profit available for their relative charity, creating a crisis of reproduction. However, the movement to out of town retailing centres and the inability of smaller, local stores to compete with larger multinationals led to vacancy rates augmenting concomitant to the increased development in charity retailers, thus leading to an influx of charity retailers in certain areas, where rental levels were more achievable. This primarily occurred in the sub-sectors, along key routes to the city e.g. Dalry Road, Corstorphine Road and Nicholson Street.

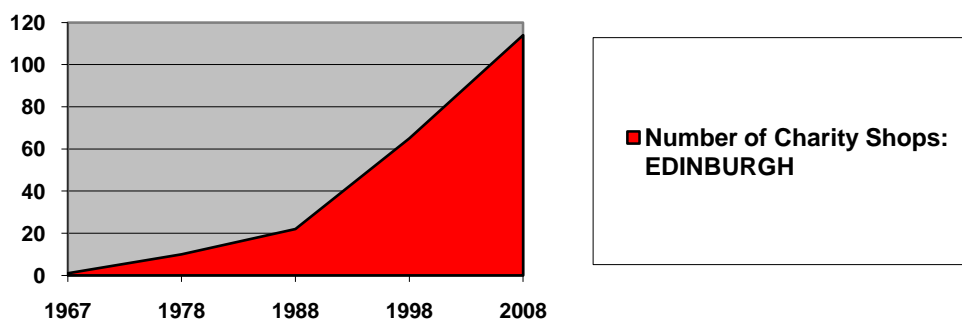
EARNs (Halcrow Group Limited, 2005) suggests promotion of certain locations in Edinburgh as boasting unique retailers, e.g. Dundas Street for arts and antiques. Wrigley & Lowe (1996: 26) in their new retail geography describe consumer cultures, born of the growth in the retailing and the creation of such sub-centres within cities. 'Certain streets...acquire particular consumption identities. Hence Little Claredon Street in Oxford with its mixture of coffee shops...and charity shops, intermingled with up-market clothing retailers becomes a central place to "hang out." Such development can be observed in the reproduction of the spatial form of Edinburgh's charity retailers. This retail culture has found expression through the creation of the

'Edinburgh Charity Map' (Changeworks, 2006, 2008, 2010) which provides guidance and information on charity retailing in the city form (this is discussed further in 6.3.2).

Since the 1970s, there has been extensive growth in the charity retailing sector of Edinburgh. The Yellow Pages (1967, 1978, 1988, 1998, and 2008) directories provide a numerical basis through which these changes can be illustrated. The form of the charity retailer as a recognised element of the retail market has been progressively expressed in The Yellow Pages, firstly existing as a sub-sector of charities, before becoming an independent consideration in their own right by 1998. In the 1967 issue, charity shops were not considered individually, and were listed under 'charities', with only 1 retailer present. By 1978, the 10 charity retailers were listed under 'Charitable and benevolent Organisations,' with no sub-sector unique to their function. In 1988, the Yellow Pages, continuing with classification of retail outlets as per 1978, sees the number of organisations increase to 26. By 1998, the Yellow Pages had introduced a subsection of 'Charity Shops.' The increment of charity retailers in the twenty years since 1978 was significant at 246%, listing 64 charity retailers. Between 1998 and 2008 in the number of charity shops in Edinburgh expanded to 114.

A recently published document, 'The Edinburgh Charity Map' (Changeworks, 2008) has been used as a central reference point as it includes the most recent data on charity retailers within the city. The total number of shops receiving a range of donations numbers 114. The information from the Yellow Pages and Changeworks is represented in figure 20, showing the obvious substantial increment in charity shops in Edinburgh.

Figure 20: Edinburgh's Charity Shop Expansion, 1967-2008.



The following pages (figures 21-24) illustrate the growth of these charity retailers through the medium of GIS mapping.

Figure 21: Edinburgh's Charity Retailers: 1978

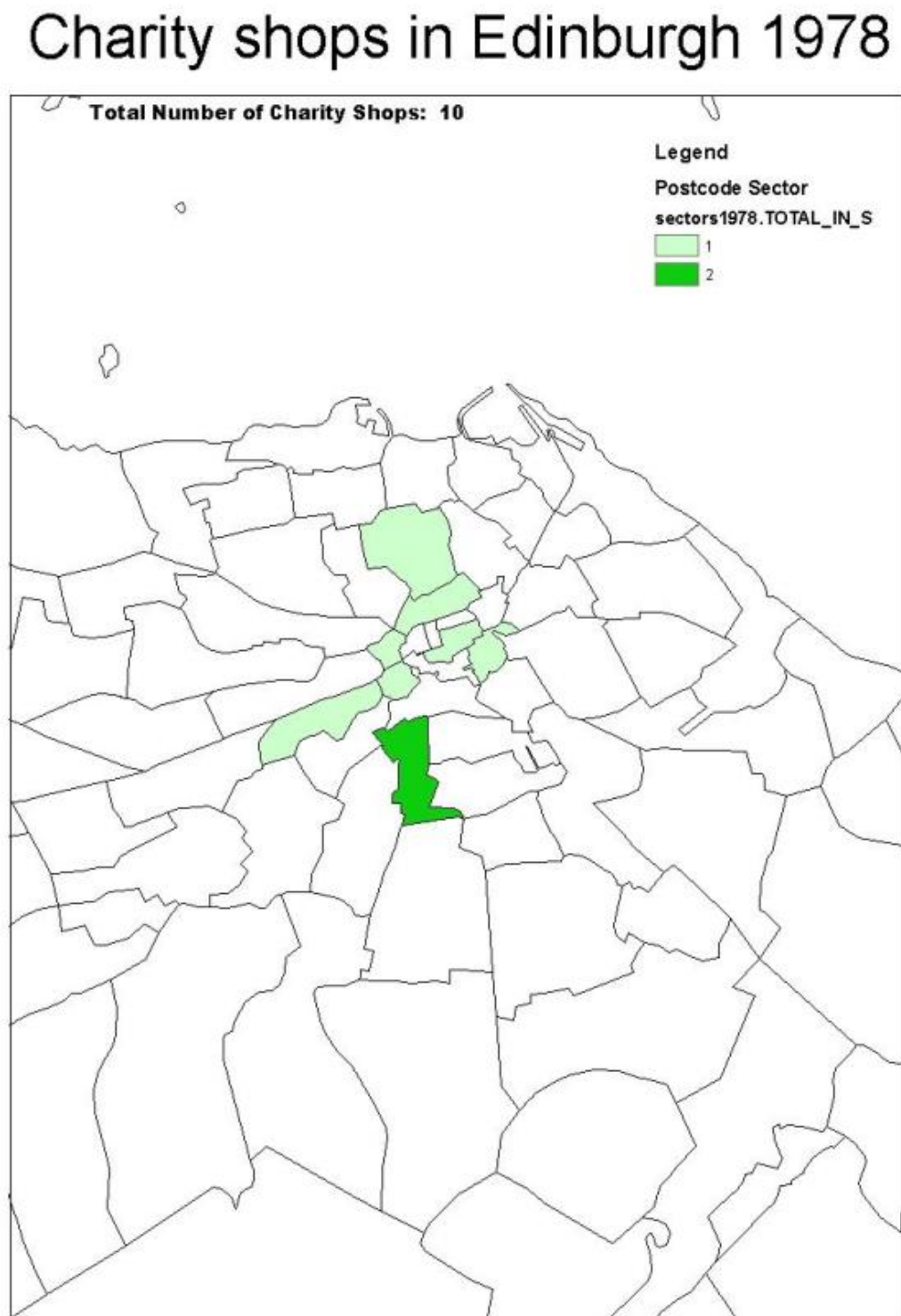


Figure 22: Edinburgh's Charity Retailers: 1988

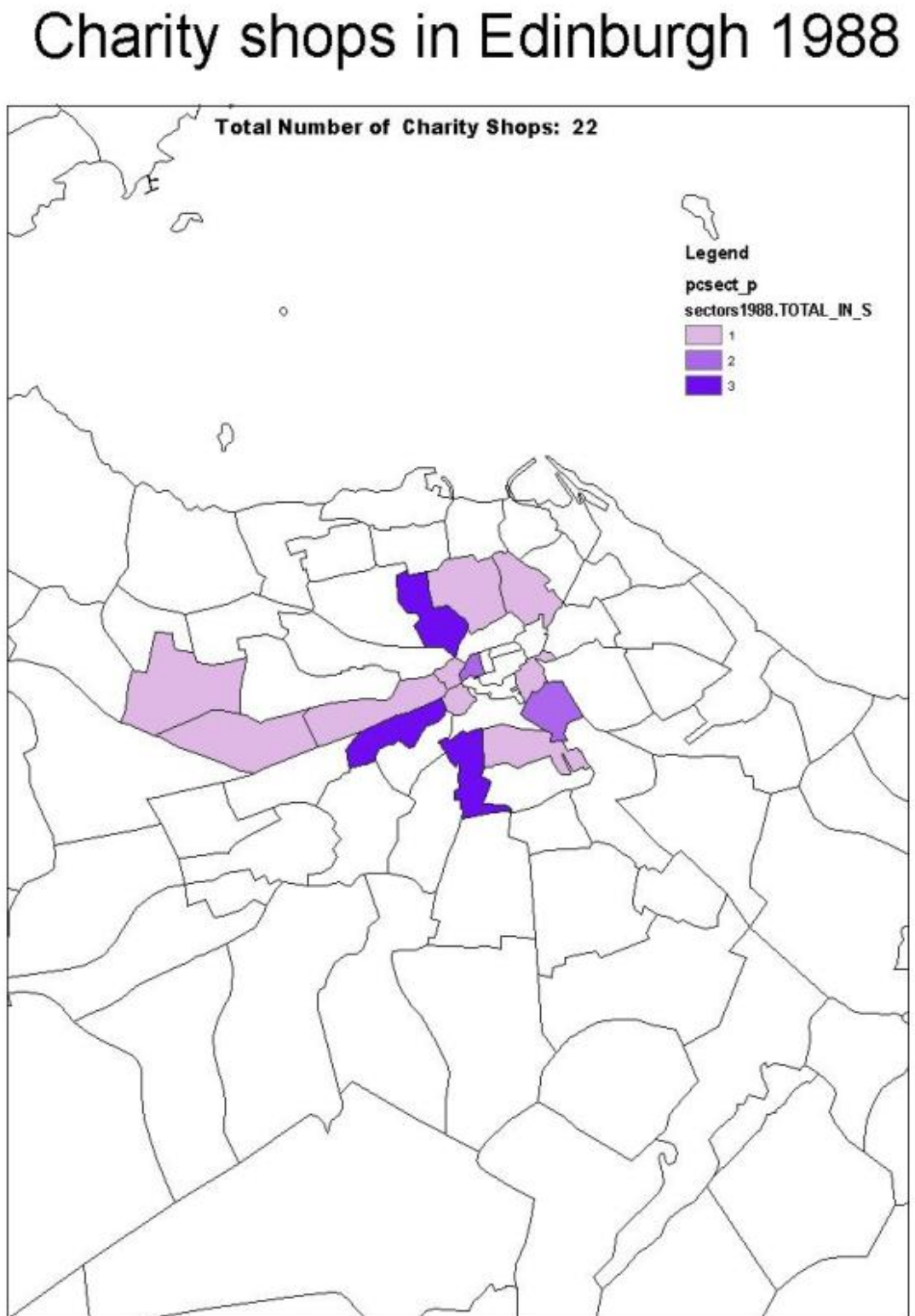


Figure 23: Edinburgh's Charity Retailers: 1998

Charity shops in Edinburgh 1998

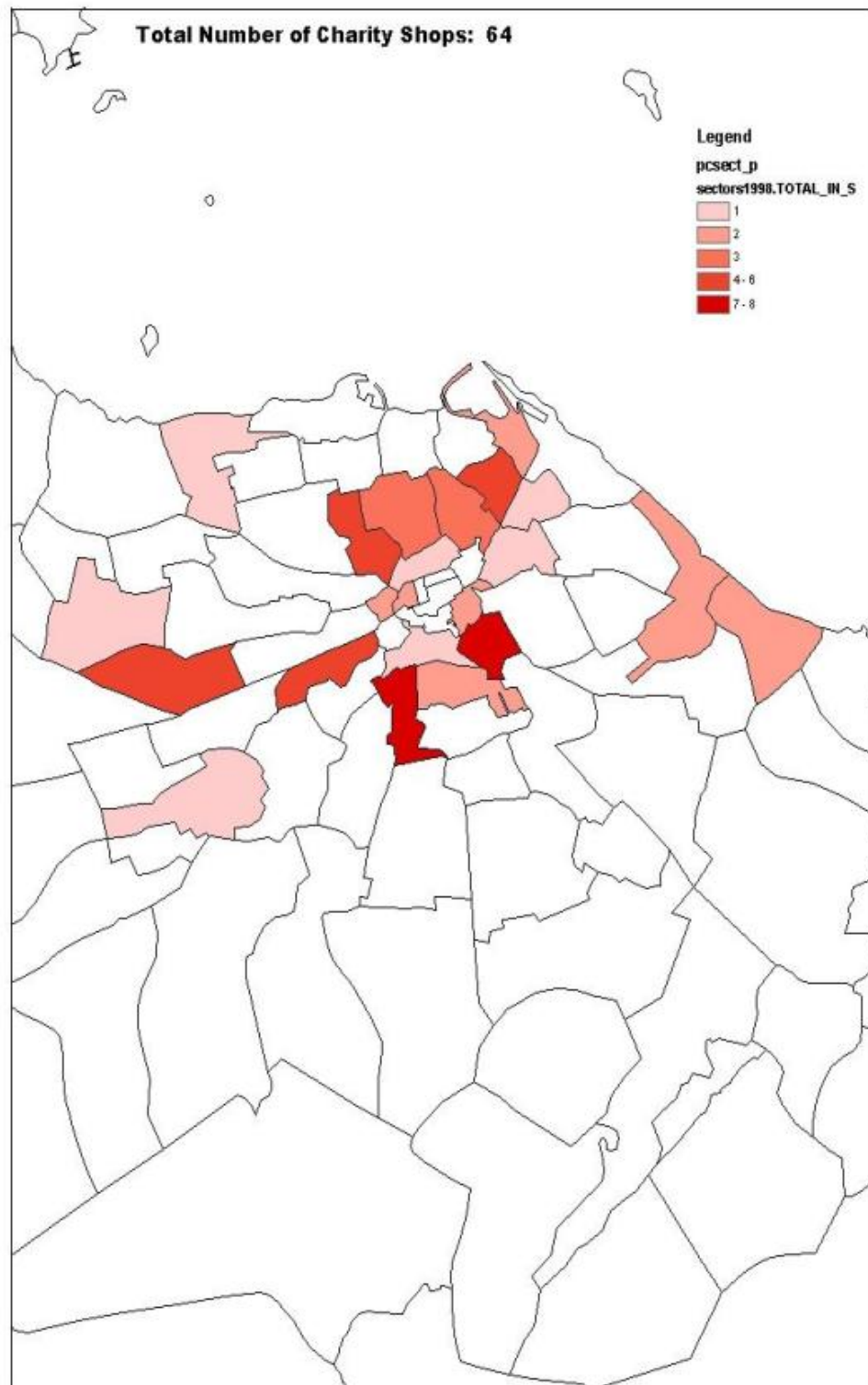
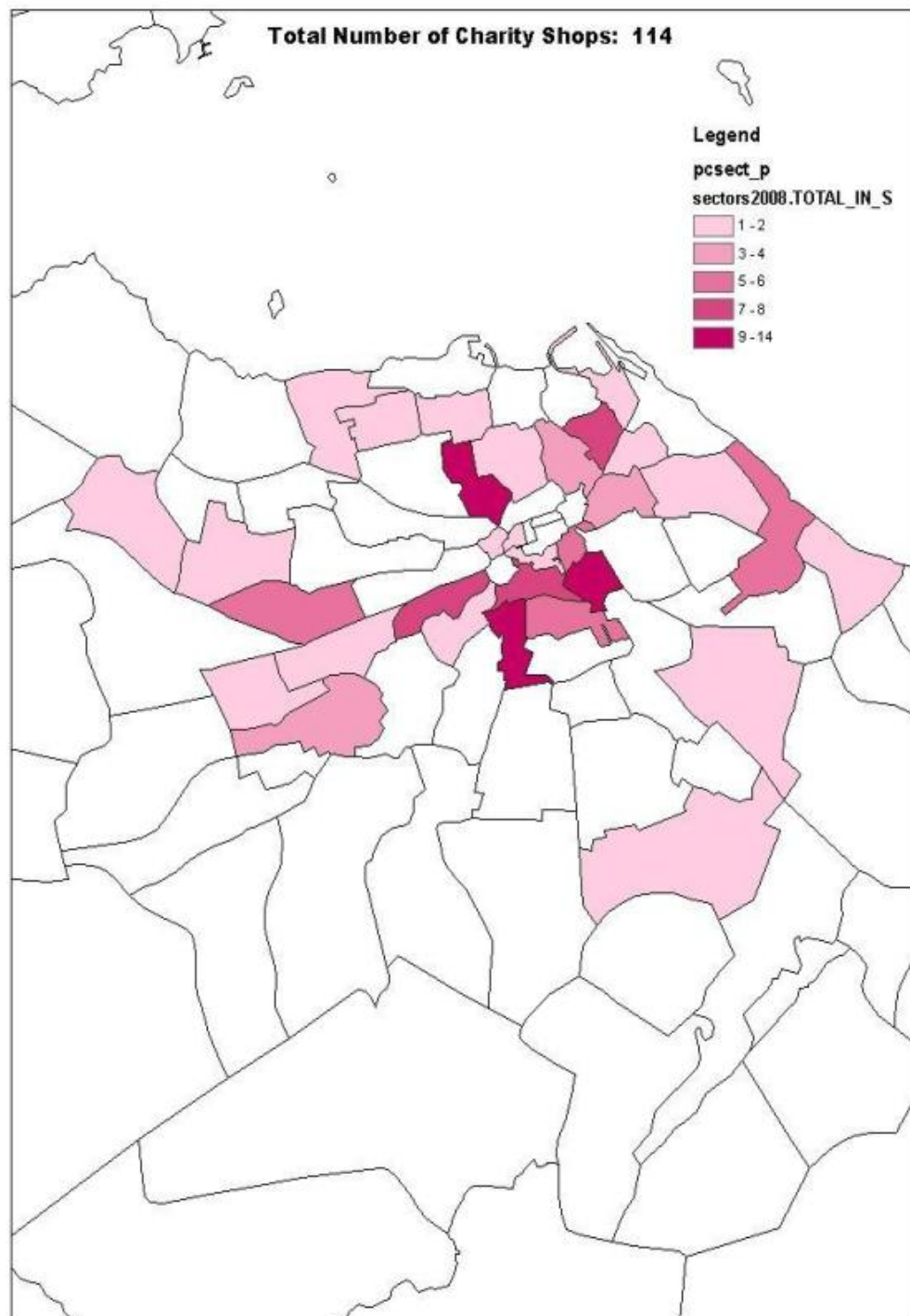


Figure 24: Edinburgh's Charity Retailers: 2008

Charity shops in Edinburgh 2008



6.3.1: Charity Retailing & Socio-Economic Comparison of Wards:

Newington, North Morningside & Sighthill.

To analyse the spatial distribution and transformation of these retailers' three wards in Edinburgh were selected. Newington, North Morningside and Sighthill all contain charity retailers and provide insight into the city's spectrum of socio-economic affluence, as defined by capitalist notions of poverty and wealth. North Morningside and Newington are sub-centres, in proximity to the city centre, with a high concentration of charity shops: presently 11 and 14 respectively. Sighthill however, located on the periphery of the city, according to the 'Edinburgh Charity Map' (Changeworks, 2008) has only 6 charity outlets. The growth of charity retailers in each of the specific areas can be seen in Figure 25, below. Also included is table 10, which indicates the ratio of population in each ward to the number of charity retailers per person.

Figure 25: Growth of Charity Retailers 1978-2008: Newington, North Morningside and Sighthill.

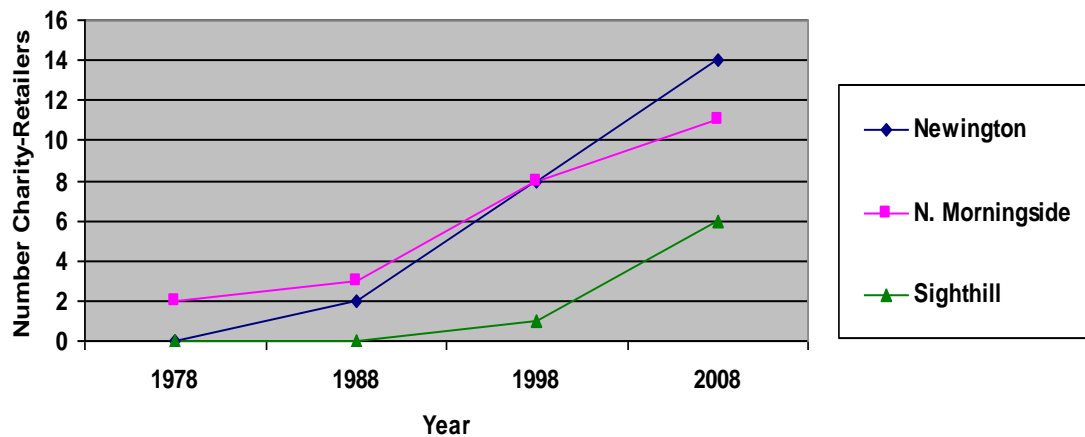


Table 11: Ratios of Edinburgh Ward Populations to Charity Retail Outlets³⁵.

Ward	Population	No. of 'Charity Retailers' per ward	'Charity Retailer' to Population Ratio
Newington	7561	14	1:540
Sighthill	8542	6	1:1424
North Morningside	7321	11	1:666

The socio-economic data compiled contradicts the assumption that charity retailers still primarily locate in areas where people need them more and poverty indicators are higher, as it was in the 1970s (Horne & Maddrell, 2002). The data examined suggests that if this supposition were correct, Sighthill should have a higher proportion of charity outlets than either Newington or Morningside, as it is defined in capitalist terms as an 'impoverished' locality. The ratios of population to number of charity retailers confirms that within Edinburgh today the charity retailer is likely to be located away from areas which are defined by poverty indicators. Sighthill has almost triple the number of people per charity retailer than in the ward of Newington. The key socio-economic indicators used to draw this potentially contradictory conclusion, from Census (2001), are illustrated in Table 12 and discussed further in the following sub-sections.

³⁵ All charity retailing figures taken from the Edinburgh Charity Map (2008) and population figures from the Census (2001).

Table 12: Socio-Economic Indicators for Chosen Wards.

Socio-Economic Indicator	Classification	City of Edinburgh (%)	Newington (%)	North Morningside (%)	Sighthill (%)
Household Tenure/Amenities	Owner occupied	68.6	83	75.5	62.4
	Rented: Council	10.9	2.5	0.4	25.3
Socio-Economic Classification	Higher man.& professional	12.5	20.7	22.1	3.5
	Lower man.& professional	20.7	21.9	24.2	10.8
	Never worked & LT Unemp.	3.2	2.0	4.1	3.9
Industry of Employment	Wholesale & retail sales	11.6	9.4	7.7	16.2
	Business services	16.1	18.8	21.7	11.1
	Education	9.3	16.4	15.4	6.6
Qualifications	Degree	32.5	51.2	56.2	14.1
	No qualifications	22.9	13.6	11.1	29.4
Occupation	Professional	17.5	30.5	33.1	5.3
	Elementary occupations	10.8	4.9	6.5	21.1
Economic Activity	Economically active	67.4	65.1	66.7	59.9
	Economically inactive	32.6	34.9	33.3	40.1

Household Tenure/Amenities:

Newington, 83% and Morningside, 75.5%, have significantly higher levels of owner occupation above the overall Edinburgh level of 68.6%. Sighthill has 62.4% owner occupied, demonstrating its relative poverty, through primarily engaging with the rent relation, rather than the exchange of the money form for property rights. Council housing accounts for 25.3% of tenure in Sighthill, compared to North Morningside where there is 0.4% rented council housing.

Socio-Economic Classification: Sighthill has a total of 14.3% of the community employed in 'higher managerial & professional' and 'lower managerial & professional', compared to Newington, 42.6% and Morningside, 46.3%, indicating greater affluence (once again an imposed capitalist classification) and higher wage levels in the latter

two wards. Sighthill also has the highest unemployment figure at 3.9%, higher than the City of Edinburgh at 3.2%.

Industry of Employment: Compared to the Edinburgh city average figures for the industries of wholesale and retail sales at 11.6%, and business services at 16.1%, Sighthill has above average employment in wholesale and retail sales at 16.2% and below average figures for employment in business services at 11.1%. In Newington and Morningside this position is reversed. Sighthill also ranks under the city of Edinburgh averages with respect to health and social work at 10.4% and education, 6.6%. The figures confirm the contrasting levels of 'affluence' between the wards, represented through the wage labour relation and money form.

Qualifications: Over half of the inhabitants of Newington and Morningside have achieved degrees, compared to only 14.1% of Sighthill residents. This reinforces the controversies within Britain's university system regarding education: young people living in what are deemed 'socially excluded' areas are less likely to go, or realise the opportunity to attend university. In Sighthill 29.4% of the population have no qualifications, significantly higher than the city of Edinburgh average of 22.9%.

Occupation: The extent of the differences between the affluent and impoverished is blatant: The figure for occupation within the 'professional' sector for the city of Edinburgh is 17.5% overall. Newington and Morningside residents represent 30.5% and 33.1% respectively occupied as professionals, compared with 5.3% in Sighthill. Only 4.9% in Newington and 6.5% in North Morningside are employed in 'elementary occupations', in Sighthill this sector provides employment for 21.1%.

Economic Activity: Inhabitants are more economically active in Newington and Morningside, compared to Sighthill. The figure for economically active in Sighthill is 59.9%, 7.5% lower than the city of Edinburgh average. There are a higher proportion of retired people living in Newington, 13% and Morningside, 13.2%. In contrast the percentage of retirees in Sighthill is 7.3%, which may indicate a shorter lifespan in this ward, or that people are unable to retire due to financial considerations.

Charity retailers are concentrated in the more 'affluent' sub-centres of Edinburgh and are thriving. In an interview with a Property Asset Manager representing a recognisable UK charity, attention is drawn towards the dichotomy which exists when considering where to locate a charity retailer, between the benefit of the location to those in need in the area and the ability to attract donations. By locating in more affluent yet affordable areas (North Morningside and Newington), the charity retailer can be ensured good quality donations, higher resale values and ultimately maximum profit. It is now increasingly acceptable and stylish to buy from these retailers, stigmatisation has been reduced and charity retailers sell a diverse variety of unique products and clothing. The charity retailers are actively reproducing the spectacle and the processes of fetishisation. The desire to expand into specialised areas following professionalisation and their drive to profit maximise has been recently immortalised through a BBC TV series (*Mary Queen of Charity Shops*). As a result, a Stockbridge [an area comparable with North Morningside] charity retailer has been altered in connection with the eponymous TV show presenter and the renovations reflect a chic, vibrant image. *Retail Week* describe the store as 'a charity shop that breaks more or less all of the accepted rules about how a store in this sector should appear' (*Retail Week*, 2010: 46). This Edinburgh shop frequently has 'vintage' and 'designer' sale evenings. Although to contradict the *retail week* comment, the store is merely representative of the ongoing professionalisation within the charity retailing form, indicating how competition is being accounted for, through expressing difference and change. It is also apparent that the success of one charity shop encourages more into the vicinity. Through their active engagement with the commodity form and the processes of fetishisation, the charity retailer is still seen by 81.7% of respondents to the web poll as being a retailer of difference.

The spatialisation of charity retailers combined with their continuing professionalisation, means many stores have at least one full time manager and or assistant manager (see chapter 5 for details on management relations) and are successful profit maximisers in their respective locations, typically in close proximity to other comparable retailers. Such concentrations of charity retailers can be observed in the attached GIS maps. The property asset manager interviewed stated that arterial routes were a target location for charity retailers, as they can successfully market

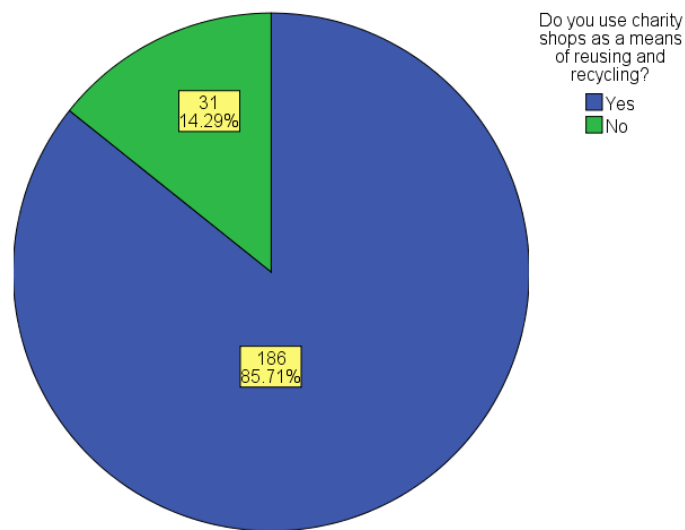
themselves to passing transport and potential pedestrian consumers, encouraging perusal and purchasing. They also drew attention to the increasing specialisation within the sector and emphasised that properties are being actively sought for expansion. This is a compromising dichotomy as charity retailers concentrated in socio-economically 'affluent' areas in Edinburgh offer no direct benefit to those in socio-economically 'deprived areas'. Through research interviews, it became apparent that many customers who shop in charity retailers within Edinburgh are known to be locals therefore, it can be assumed that those who live in less affluent areas in the city (such as Sighthill), are unlikely to venture to charity retailers out of their vicinity. This again raises the question of how beneficial charity retailers are to the more 'impoverished' within the local community. This is another indication of how the capitalist charity retailer reproduces to maximise profit and redistribute impoverishment rather than negate it. The charity retailer fails to have a transformative effect in Edinburgh's local community, as those retailers examined operate by redistributing profits to the parent charity, therefore back into the global circuits of capital. Presently, the capitalist charity retailer has developed from a retail form addressing a need for commodities in a specific locality and is now increasingly concerned with augmenting profits for redistribution.

6.3.2: The Edinburgh Charity Map

The charity retailing form reproduced in Edinburgh is expressed through 'The Edinburgh Charity Map' which was first published by the registered charity Generous Scotland, Lothian and Edinburgh Environmental Partnership (LEEP) in 2006. The map provided information about the charity retailers in operation throughout the city and the variety of donations which they would accept. The retailers were categorised into different areas, again demonstrating the tendency for charity retailers to benefit from locating in close proximity to each other. It included advice on what was suitable for donations, how to become involved in volunteering and 'frequently asked questions'. The map was a result of the LEEP initiative, which was funded by Edinburgh city council, and was compiled through a steering group which included representative of charity retailers operating throughout the city. Sam, the Changeworks (LEEP has been renamed) representative spoke to me about how the idea developed through *'promoting recycling...but as the years went by, em, we wanted to, not just concentrate*

on, still provide information on recycling, but provide information of the steps higher up in the waste hierarchy'. Therefore, as the charity retailer now represents 'green' initiatives for reusing and recycling through their stores (another aspect of a capitalist construct, created in response to its own crisis of reproduction), it was included in the information provided through the map. As can be seen from **figure 26, below**, the charity retailer is patronised by a significant number of people (85.7%) who are keen to reuse and recycle.

Figure 26: Do you use charity shops as a means of reusing and recycling?



In 2006 the total number of the map distributed amounted to 50,000 and they were predominantly distributed through the form of the charity retailer. This initiative is similar to the notions of CSR examined in **5.3.1**, where the relationship is mutually beneficial to those parties involved, as a way to raise awareness of charity retailing and recycling, thus promoting concepts of environmental preservation and charity retailing. However, this relationship is ironically, between two charities. The form of the charity map itself changed. It was published and updated as 'The Edinburgh Charity Map' in 2008, but the 2010 release has been renamed 'The Edinburgh Charity Shop and Reuse Map'. Although the content is similar, Sam states that '*our main reason for producing the charity maps was to em, give people more information about where they could donate items for reuse and also because we knew there was an issue with the charity shops. There will be more emphasis on a reuse map [2010] rather than calling it a charity map as such, but yeah, it will be essentially the charity shop information and then other sort of smaller projects that we know about.*' The map is

particular to Edinburgh, just as the form of the charity retailer investigated represents a city which reproduces as an individual form, yet one which is subsumed into the capitalist mode of production. The charity map has also proved popular with the tourists who visit Edinburgh. The map gives details on which buses to take to which specific charity retailing areas, thus actively encouraging the commodity/exchange relation and the profitability of Edinburgh as a city economy and the charity retailers within it. The map is a curiosity, one which has promoted the charity retailing form and complemented the notions of spectacle and fetishisation which it actively reproduces.

6.3.3: The Property Perspective

Through capitalist reproduction and the continual reforming of the wage labour relation, of subordination, we are actively separated from land, and each of us are rendered 'propertyless' (see 3.5.4). Alienated from our potential means of self-subsistence through the land, we are doubly dispossessed (but also doubly free). In addition to being removed from land; we are also removed from our own creativity. With the reproduction of these capitalist relations, the money form is given expression through the realisation of the real estate relations in and through the built environment. This is the space of property through which the charity retailer reproduces, through an exchange relation of rent, or the acquisition of ownership rights through purchasing the property. As capitalist reproduction creates (and destroys) space, so too does the charity retailer within the built environment. To refer back to Lefebvre's triad examined in 4.4.1, the charity retailer is a production of space, one which creates space (through the form of charity and its practices) and is a space of representation. These are continually reconstituted relations, in and through the propertylessness of the capitalist mode of reproduction. The spatialisation of the charity retailer reflects in the instability of capitalism, with crises manifested in and through the retail market, the need for environmental awareness (the 'green' initiatives) and the labour movement within the urban form. As we have seen from the previous sub-section 6.3.1, the form of the charity retailer has developed from a small local concern in areas defined by notions of capitalist 'poverty' and 'class', to a practice which reproduces global forms of capitalist charity, through profit maximisation. This has resulted in charity retailers now locating in areas where they are able to engage

with the property relation whilst simultaneously making profit for the parent charity. How the charity retailer has been realised (and continues to be realised) in this way, through the property and rent relations, is the theme of this section, which draws on interviews with Lee, a commercial property consultant and Rowan, a property asset manager for a prominent UK charity.

Rowan is the senior asset manager for Scotland and Northern Ireland, dividing time between the retail aspect of her parent charity and other services which the charity provides. She has been in her position since 2001 and is the only estates surveyor, although the charity does also have three building surveyors in Scotland who primarily respond to property maintenance requirements. In this way, by only employing one property asset manager, the charity can profit from Rowan's experience, whilst still suppressing capital outlay, so the charity obtains a specialist who can address the antagonism between location and profit. With regards to location, profitability is important, but also maximising donation and volunteer levels are of consideration when deciding upon a location.

It is continually important to be profitable, yet be in a location which does not demand an excessive rent, which then diminishes profits. On the retail side Rowan *'takes on new leases, I get rid of old ones, do rent reviews, do the full management package, em I would probably only use agents when we are disposing of leases or disposing of freeholds'*. The property portfolio for Scotland for Rowan's charity has experienced rapid restructuring throughout the last five years. In 2002, the charity occupied 40 leasehold properties and 22 feuhold. As of 2010, the number of leased properties had increased to 58, with the feuhold property diminishing to 2 properties. Overall, the charity's representation through the urban form has not altered substantially, (although stores have been reconstituted, closed and re-opened in different locations) with the charity's total number of retail outlets decreasing from 62 to 60 in the five year period. Rowan states the reasons for this different engagement with the real estate relation of rent, rather than ownership:

'We've become a more flexible organisation which has needed more flexible leaseholds, so on the retail we've moved to a more flexible leasehold portfolio...We only kept two,

which I think they want to relocate, Greenock and Cowdenbeath. We did a sale and leaseback of 14 [feehold properties] which was the remainder of the freehold portfolio in Scotland.'

'Landlords are quite happy as long as they are getting an income...we've kind of adopted a 10 year, with a break at 5, em sometimes if we are making a new venture we would make it a 6 year with a break at 3. I mean, at the moment we are trying to get 12 months' rent free...flexibility is achievable.'

Through negotiation on lease lengths and rent free periods, the property asset manager reproduces the capitalist notions of both charity and propertylessness. This also indicates how the money form is accumulated and redistributed throughout the portfolio, through liquidising ownership rights. The flexibility and fluidity which colours the capitalist social form and its crisis of reproduction is then manifested in the shorter terms leases, with break options and the sale and leaseback of feehold property. The charity retailer is in a position of subordination, further subsumed by the forms which reproduce it. Lee discusses how in the property market, the charity retailer is regarded positively:

'From an investor's point of view and a covenant point of view...and a valuation point of view, charity shops are good...people are happy to buy them and sell them, have them as tenants. They generally come up with good ratings...[compared with other retailers] who would take a lease which doesn't actually hold any strength.'

This reinforces what Rowan states about the landlords being happy, as long as they are realising exchange value on the property. The fact that the occupier is a charity indicates that rather than being approached cautiously, it is embraced as being a strong tenant. Lee continues, emphasising that *'they're just like any other occupier, they're not getting any favours, I mean from a landlord's point of view.'* Although the charity retailer benefits from not having to pay VAT on donated goods and the 80% mandatory (20% discretionary) rates relief, through the rent relations, they reproduce as any other capitalist, profit maximising occupier would. Flexibility of tenure is also mentioned by Lee, who refers to a 'regeared' Oxfam lease in Aberdeen, stating *'they want the flexibility and to be in this market...I don't think it's just charities trying for*

that, you know anyone going into the market just now will try for that..But Oxfam had been in that property for 20 years and they still wanted the 5 year break, purely to give them flexibility.' This is an example of how although the charity retailer is subsumed into the property relation, they are also actively reproducing space on their own more flexible terms, responding to the continually deforming/reforming relations of capitalism. In a way, this is an action against, as the charity retailer attempts to almost protect its own reproduction, through more short term, fluid leases, so as any negative response to capitalist crises within the retail market can be mediated against. Although this is a form of againstness, of negating, the charity retailer itself is still struggling against capitalist reproduction, as it is engaged with the real estate relations of property. The charity retailer cannot reproduce as profit maximisers without a visual representation in the urban form, expressed through the built environment.

6.4: Chapter Summary

Horne & Maddrell (2002) observed that until the end of the 1970s the charity shop was to be found in socio-economically deprived areas in close proximity to those who required their services most. Today the opposite is true and the paradox of charity retailers spatiality is revealed, they are now located along arterial routes in 'affluent' suburbs (with affordable rental levels), accessible to donors and customers alike, yet removed from those who require them most. Within Edinburgh the development of charity retailers seems to have contradicted the statement made by Horne & Maddrell (2002). As can be observed from the GIS maps (figures **21-24**), the concentration of charity retailers in Edinburgh appears to have consistently been in more affluent areas, such as Morningside. The number of charity retailers in Morningside gradually and consistently increased in the period illustrated, from 1978-2008. This is not an isolated incident, as comparable areas of affluence within the city such as Stockbridge (North Edinburgh) and Newington (South Edinburgh) have experienced similar transformations. Charity retailers now operate as competitive retailers and have evolved into a commercial, carefully managed operation. The charity retailer continues to engage with the rent and property relations, constantly reconstituting their property portfolio, subsumed by relations of the capitalist mode of reproduction. They are productions of space, producers of space and visually, representatives of the

space of charity. These relations exist in and through each other, rather than independently of one another, they are contradictory moment of spatial reproduction.

Regarding Horne's suggestion that little has changed in this retailing niche regarding motivations of 'relief of poverty... (benefits to the) community' (1998: 156), this research demonstrates that it is an outdated notion and illustrates that the 'local' is no longer as predominant a concern for Edinburgh's charity retailers. Indeed considering the plethora of charity retailers developing in Edinburgh's more affluent areas since the late 1970s, it is questionable whether the local was ever a dominant concern. As discussed, the GIS and socio-economic data have collectively revealed this particular aspect of the development of the charity retail form in the Edinburgh cityscape. Charity retailers' benefit from being located close to other charity retailers and the urban fabric of certain areas in Edinburgh, such as Nicholson Street, demonstrates this representation through the built environment. The charity retailer has become less concerned with the welfare of the local population and has developed into an inherent aspect of the global fundraising for their parent charity. Profit is redistributed away from the locality, as the charity attempts to maximise profit. This has occurred simultaneously with the 'professionalisation' of charity retailing and the more commercialised approach to management adopted. It is obvious however, that the development of the charity retailer is influenced by trends in the retail market: it continues to be a conspicuous part of the built environment in Edinburgh.

This chapter has illustrated how processes of labour, the state form, the money form and charity retailing are each creators of space and destroyers of space in and through the built environment. The case study analysis has indicated that the charity retailing form which is expressed in the city form is one which through the expansion of specialist charity retailers and 'green' initiatives such as the Edinburgh charity map, the charity retailer reproduces spectacular processes of commodification. Through the property relation, the antagonism of location/profitability is addressed by the property asset manager as property constantly reforms the position of subordination. The following chapter questions the overall research findings relevant to labour processes and spatialisation, as well as the process of research itself.

Chapter 7: Going Beyond...

7.1: Charity Transcended?

Has charity been transcended? This research was a challenge, a challenge to rethink and 'go beyond' the many facades through which the capitalist mode of reproduction finds expression and open up the form of the charity retailer, into something more, revealing a mode of existence which is in-through-and-against, reproducing relations of labour processes and the urban form. The research sought to address the question:

'How can the research uncover and illustrate the contradictory form and reconstitution of the charity retailer within contemporary capitalist society at the beginning of the twenty first century?'

Through the adoption of an open Marxist research approach, understanding of the charity retailing form has been enhanced, as the research sought to reveal the relations which reproduce its form. This going beyond is not a conclusion, but rather a gentle reminder of the key aspects of the subsumed, struggling capitalist form of the charity retailer. The research questions were addressed and responded to throughout the body of the thesis, as the general conceptualisations were progressively realised through the particular qualitative and quantitative data collected for the purpose of the research.

Charity has become a complement to capitalist reproduction, channelling the welfare of the social form, mediating conditions of separation in unity. Charity exists in a very different manner to pre-capitalist notions of charity, of active giving and direct involvement with those separated from their means of subsistence. However, capitalist charity is an interpassive action, which redistributes and reconstitutes the impoverishment experiences by all in the capitalist social form. Notions of 'charity' and 'wealth' are defined by capitalism, represented through the class relation and the money form, reasserting primitive accumulation and continually defining through money, this vanishing mediator. The progressive development of charity retailing was offered an historical perspective, illustrating the means by and through which capitalism is constantly in crises and rupturing social creativity.

Labour power as the source of all value in capitalist reproduction is also central to the reproduction of the charity retailer, through both the wage and non-wage relations. Although it is arguable whether the volunteer, engaging in the non-wage relation, is engaging with labour, or through volunteering, expressing their creativity through human doing. This human doing may be realised, but it is in a manner which is mediated by and reforms the capitalist relation. The volunteer contributes to the realisation of the exchange value through the commodity form, but they remain in the mode of being denied. However, the power to change, which emanates from human doing, could effect change through actively acting against the capitalist form of charity.

Management within the charity retailer was observed to be doubly subordinate, as they are subject to dictates from the top down management hierarchy, who are reproducing and implementing constructs of authority and control. The manager is also subordinate to the volunteer form, where the power rests within the charity retailer, as if there is no volunteer form within practices of charity retailing, the processes of capitalist charitable redistribution would cease. The manager is also subordinate to the money form, engaging in a limited relation with the wage, which is relatively insufficient when consumption of real estate and commodities is accounted for. Issues of communication and recruitment, competition and the charity guilt complex reproduce a management/volunteer relation which abounds with antagonisms.

The charity retailer enhances the spectacle of capital. The continual processes of fetishisation through their presence in retailing, as represented in and through the built environment, offers a visual expression of constant commodity fetishisation through the expansion of charity retailing into specialised arenas, such as bookstores, bridal stores and vintage boutiques. The commodity form, as a donation, finds expression through an exchange relation, which does not realise any surplus value (as it has already been realised), but through which the charity form can benefit from the commodity's use and therefore exchange value.

The capitalist built environment realises a space of uneven development, one which is interconnected with relations of class, money, the state and the labour processes.

Through the case study city of Edinburgh, the charity retailer was observed to have fluidly changed since the end of the post war period, manifesting itself today in areas where the spectacular commodity exchanges relations can be maximised and the fetish is expressed. These locations are those which are defined through the capitalist money form as 'affluent', rather than 'impoverished'. The antagonisms of engaging in the rent and real estate relations were expounded upon by Rowan and Lee, who through their interviews, they each emphasised how charity retailers are manifested in and through capitalist practices, of rent, regearing of leases and rent free periods. The dichotomy of profit and location is one which is of central importance to the charity retailing form, as if the location is unable to realise profit maximisation, the retailer will encounter a crisis of reproduction. The space of the charity retailer is one which is produced by capitalist reproduction, but it also creates space and represents the subsumption of the charity retailer to the relation of 'propertylessness'.

7.2: Self-Critique

Self-Critique...I am unsure where to begin. With respect to the data collection process, if the research were to be undertaken again, the emphasis would be on the data which could be gained primarily through the qualitative research methods, such as participant observation and interviews, rather than the questionnaires. This is because in practice the number of questionnaires distributed was significantly larger than the volume of responses received. Although this research was not concerned with statistically significant classifications, if the response rate had been higher, the overall research could have been enhanced by the opinions expressed. It was surprising how many charity retailers, themselves voluntary organisations, did not respond to the questionnaires. This either indicated lack of interest, or lack of time on the part of the managers to distribute and return questionnaires. However, one manager sent back a completed management questionnaire, but returned the volunteers' questionnaires unanswered because 'there was too much potential for negative responses', which was just what I was looking for! The interviewees and people with whom I could build a rapport through the charity retail participant observation were certainly not afraid to voice any opinion, be it positive or negative. In the same respect, a lot of time was devoted to analysing the questionnaire responses through SPSS software, which didn't contribute to the overall research, next to producing attractive graphs.

The research process itself was one of rupturing and limited self-realisation. The thesis had to have an end point and so a lot of the content was restricted due to time and money considerations. I have to admit that as a young scholar of Marx, I am looking forward to what future research will bring, or confront me with. I was confronted with Marx, having had very little interaction with him prior to the PhD research; I think however over the course of the last three years, I will never be without him. My whole approach to life and how I view it has changed; I am forever questioning, arguing and seeing the world very differently. To Marx, I am a grateful, but that is not to say that the research journey was without its difficulties and complexities. It was not easy, but I am glad I did it.

7.3: Future Research

The research process is potentially limitless and many theoretical roads have been travelled down throughout this research period, which do not find expression in the body of this thesis. As the questionnaire data collected for those who do and do not shop/donate to charity retailers was not included, it would be interesting to examine the perspectives of those who engage with the charity retailer in a different form than that of the shop floor labour processes examined. In the same respect, the notions of corporate social responsibility could be expanded upon, especially if the reconstitution of the charity form becomes enmeshed with further capitalist commercial initiatives. Another perspective for investigation into the charity retailing form is through the donations, how are they redistributed, how are they affected by capitalist crises, such as recessionary periods? Revisiting the research undertaken in several years will no doubt offer a completely different engagement with the charity retail form, due to the fluidity of capitalist reproduction combined with the fluidity of personal thought. Other research which could emerge from this includes:

- Detailed analysis of the economy of charity retailing and its wider financial implications, identification of the processes and problems of distribution- how do charities redistribute, how can it be quantified through the money form especially on a global scale, considering cultural, political and economical separation in unity? Further interpretation into the dichotomy of the local and global.

- How fair is fair trade? As the charity retailer continues to accrue profit concomitant to development within poorer nation states across the world, how sustainable is the implementation of fair trade merchandising in the future and how useful has it been since its inception? Has the reproduction of fair trade manifested capitalist reproduction?
- Exploration of non-consumption within the charity retailing form- a more detailed investigation into why people do not purchase from (or donate to) charity retailers. Analysing perspectives from shoppers, non-shoppers and retail consultancy agencies.
- The potential extinction of the charity retailer with a 'higher purpose'. An historical perspective investigating the importance of religious motivations within the charity sector, the behaviour and opinion of the ecclesiastical bodies in relation to the evolution of a potentially disaffected, non-religious society in the Twenty-first century.
- Examination and comparison of the practices within charity retailers operating in rural and urban locales, do they differ and how? Can the approaches within the urban/rural interface be assessed and how do they affect the behaviour of the parent charity and their profit levels?
- In depth analysis of the charity retailer in comparison to alternative aspects of the voluntary sector, public perspectives and relevance of the charity retailer in the local and national communities, compared to other methods of voluntary sector participation. Looking at the effects of David Cameron's 'Big Society'.
- Scrutinising the presence of the charity retailing form from the point of view of competitive, non-charity retailers. Are the charity retailers merely a symptom of issues within the wider retail market, or a direct cause of diminishing returns to other second hand and independent retailers? How has the evolution of charity retailers impacted other outlets offering second hand merchandise?
- Furthering the research within this investigation through a multinational investigation of the charity retailing form, surveying if and how it is represented across other capitalist nations.
- Continual conceptualisation of the forms of charity and charity retailing through Marxist informed research, with the possibility of addressing contrasting theoretical approaches.

7.4: An Emerging Perspective

The conceptualisation of charity retailing does not end with this piece of research. The research cannot possibly account for all the complexities and nuances within the fragile relations of capital through which this particular form reproduces. It is merely an intervention, a beginning of a different way of thinking about charity and charity retailers, as subsumed by capital, yet struggling in-and-against its consequences. Through the research it seems that the spatial and labour processes have almost become an assumed feature of capitalist reproduction, as a medium of the state form, an environmentally sound retailer, a voluntary body, through which the 'third sector' is expressed. This however, could ultimately be a capitalistic weakness. The ongoing reconstitution and evolution of the charity retailing form manifests a form subsumed by capital, in a position of subordination, antagonism and struggle. A struggle which could someday, potentially through the power of volunteer form in particular or the subordinate ruptured manager, actively rise up in protest against the present forms of capitalism and charity...this remains to be seen, but it is a thought which is hopeful, alternative, different and free. The conceptualisation continues...

Appendix 1:

Data Collection Methods

- *The Ethical Protocol*
- *Cover Letter for Postal Questionnaires*
 - *Questionnaire: Manager*
 - *Questionnaire: Volunteer*
- *Survey Monkey Online Questionnaires*
 - *Website Poll Questions*
 - *Interview Themes*
 - *SPSS Codebook*
 - *NVivo8 Codes*

Ethical Protocol.

Researcher Details: Nicola Livingstone, PhD research student.

1.15 William Arrol Building, School of the Built Environment,
Heriot-Watt University, Edinburgh. EH14 4AS.

Email: ndl4@hw.ac.uk

Contact No: 0131 451 4630/07881 458817

Research Project: Examination of the form of the charity shop in Twenty-first century Britain and the social relationships encompassed within this retail sector. Detailed case study analysis of Edinburgh.

The research aims to illustrate the position of the charity shop in society and enhance the minimal literature available on the subject. The project is supported by the Engineering Physical Sciences Research Council (EPSRC).

A variety of research methods are used during this investigation, including web research, questionnaires and interviews. The interviews are likely to last around 1 hour and are used to provide greater detail about the subject matter. The interviews will be recorded and transcribed by the researcher for accurate recall and information will be processed in line with the Data Protection Act (1998). Personal information will be:

- Fairly and lawfully processed.
- Processed for limited purposes (in this case for personal research).
- Adequate, relevant and not excessive.
- Accurate and up to date.
- Not kept for longer than is necessary.
- Processed in line with your rights.
- Secure.

In addition to the above, every effort is made to ensure that: no harm comes to participants; there is no invasion of privacy and there will be no deception involved during the interview process.

Informed Consent.

As an interview subject, I am aware that:

- All information and data I provide will be treated confidentially.
- My identity (and that of my relevant charity) will be protected and remain anonymous at all times throughout the research. Pseudonyms will be used at all times.
- Extracts from the interview may be used in the researcher's thesis.
- I have the right to refuse to answer questions.
- I am participating in a voluntary capacity.
- My interviewer will provide any additional information and answer any relevant queries regarding the research area.

Signed: _____ Participant.

Interview Date: _____ 2009.

Signed: _____ Nicola Livingstone, Researcher.

Interview Date: _____ 2009.

Room 1.15 William Arrol Building,
School of the Built Environment,
Heriot-Watt University,
Riccarton,
Edinburgh,
EH14 4AS.

11th December 09

Dear ..,

Re: Charity Shop Questionnaires.

I am a PhD student at Heriot-Watt University Edinburgh, researching the development of charity retailers in the UK. Part of this research involves uncovering the perceptions and opinions of those involved in the sector. To this end, I am currently distributing questionnaires, for both *paid* and *volunteer* members of staff to charity shops in Edinburgh, as it is my case study city. I have tried to call the store on several occasions to gain permission prior to sending these out, but have been unable to catch you. I have already spoken to (and forwarded questionnaires on to) Anna Beard at the Drumsheugh Place store as well as Margaret Hunnan in the Comely Bank shop and she recommended that I got in touch with you to ensure that it was acceptable for St Columba's to be involved with the research. Provided you are happy with the questionnaires, I would appreciate it if you forward on some copies and return to sender envelopes to the other St Columba's shops in Edinburgh?

The volunteer questionnaire should take 10-15 minutes to complete and the paid member of staff no more than 20 minutes. As a charity shop volunteer myself, I appreciate that time is of the essence, but any contribution from your store would be of great value to me, as if there is no research there is no PhD! Following completion, the questionnaires can be returned to me through the 'return to sender' envelope, which I have also included.

With respect to the questionnaires, they are anonymous so responses cannot be associated with anyone person, or charity. They are only to be used for the purpose of my own personal research. The volunteer questionnaires seek to discover why and how people have come to be involved with charity shops, what they think of the 'professionalisation' in the sector and how the shops are affected by changes in society. Those questionnaires for paid members of staff include many similar questions, but in addition, examine any issues within the management, relationships with volunteers, customers and head office. The questionnaire also seeks your opinions on charity shops in competition with other non-charity retailers and whether the commercialisation of charity retail has been a positive development. Needless to say, there are no sensitive, inappropriate or financially oriented questions.

If you have any further queries or questions, please do not hesitate to contact me anytime via my university email address at ndl4@hw.ac.uk or through my research website at www.charityshopforum.co.uk where you can find a discussion forum, further questionnaires and more detail about me and my research.

I look forward to receiving your responses and thank you in advance,
Yours Faithfully,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'N. Livingstone'.

Ms. Nicola Livingstone.
PhD Research Student,
Property Investment & Economics.
Tel: 0131 4514630 / 07881458817.

Questionnaire: PAID Employees in the Charity Shop

Sector:

The following questions are for employees within the charity retailing sector, with the anonymous responses utilised for analysis as an integral part of ongoing PhD research. Your time and comments are greatly appreciated. The questionnaire should take no longer than 15-20 minutes of your time.

If you have any further comments to make, or would like to contact me, I can be reached at nicola@charityshopforum.co.uk, or through www.charityshopforum.co.uk, where you can find further questionnaires, web polls, information blog and discussion forum.

Thank you.

- 1. Which charity/charity shop are you involved with and where is your work located?**

- 2. What position do you hold within this charity/charity shop?**

- 3. How long have you worked in your present position?**

- 4. How many hours do you work per week?**

- 5. Do you feel your wage level suitably reflects your contribution as an employee?**

- 6. Do you have a history of employment within this sector? If so, please provide details.**

7. How did you come to be employed in this sector?

8. Is your present employment more fulfilling as you are working for the benefit of others?

9. Do you have further personal aspirations to achieve within your position of employment? Would you like to progress in the sector?

10. On entering employment within the charity sector, have your experiences matched or fallen short of your expectations? How?

11. Do you feel charity and their representative shops an important component of society today?

12. If you are involved in management, can you describe team dynamics and management structure? Who are you responsible for and who is responsible for you?

13. Are there any recurring problems, relevant to the charity sector, within your employment?

14. Can you describe any positive or negative experiences that have occurred whilst working? With customers? Colleagues? Managers?

15. Under what circumstances would you consider leaving your present job or the charity sector?

16. If you were to leave as an employee, would you return as a volunteer?

17. How often do you donate to/purchase from your charity shops?

18. Do you support any other charities apart from your employer? How?

19. Do your charity shops benefit from any relief/exemptions e.g. reduced rents, due to their charitable status? Please give details.

20. What effect does the government have upon the charity shop/charity sector, through legislation etc. and is it a positive authority? Please provide examples if possible.

21. What are your regulatory bodies and how effective are they in the charity sector?

22. Can charities today be compared to other multinational companies, especially those with global influence?

23. Are you:

Male:

☐

Female:

☐

24: Age:

15-24 years:

☐

25-39 years:

☐

40-59 years:

☐

60& Over:

☐

25: Are you:

Single:

☐

With a long-term Partner:

☐

Married:

☐

Widow/Widower:

☐

27. Do you support any dependants?

Yes:

☐

No:

☐

25: Qualifications:

GCSE/Standard Grades or lower:

☐

A-Level or HND/NVQ:

☐☐

Degree level:

25: Occupation Information:

Employed Full Time:

☐

Employed Part Time:

☐

26. Personal Annual Income:

< £15,000:

☐

£15-20,000:

☐

£20- 24,000:

☐

£25- 39,000:

☐

£40,000 +:

☐

27. Where do you live permanently?

If Edinburgh, please specify your area.

THANK YOU!

Questionnaire: Volunteers in the Charity Shop Sector:

The following questions are for volunteers within the charity retailing sector, with the anonymous responses utilised for analysis as an integral part of ongoing PhD research. The questionnaire should take no longer than 15 minutes to complete. Your time and comments are greatly appreciated.

If you have any further comments to make, or would like to contact me, I can be reached at nicola@charityshopforum.co.uk, or through www.charityshopforum.co.uk, where you can find further questionnaires, web polls, information blog and discussion forum.

Thank you.

- 5. Which charity shop are you involved with and where is your work located?**

- 2. How many hours do you work there per week?**

- 3. How long have you volunteered in your present position?**

- 4. How would you define 'volunteer'?**

- 5. What encouraged you to decide upon your particular charity?**

- 6. How did you become a charity shop volunteer, what were your reasons for doing so?**

7. Can you suggest any other reasons why people volunteer time to charity/thrift shops?

8. Is the shop you volunteer at easily accessible to you from your home i.e. within a 2 mile radius? Is this important?

9. What do you enjoy about being a volunteer? Does it benefit you personally?

10. When you first became interested in volunteering, did the experience meet or fall short of your expectations? How?

11. How important is the management system in the operation of your charity shop? Can you describe the team dynamics?

12. Which tasks do you typically perform within your particular charity shop?

13. Do you encounter any recurring problems in your charity shop work?

14. Can you describe any positive or negative experiences that have occurred whilst volunteering? With customers? Colleagues? Managers?

15. What type of customers does your shop tend to attract? Are they what you expected? Have you had any noteworthy experiences regarding your charity shops patrons?

16. Do you support any other charities than the one for which you volunteer? How?

17. How often do you purchase from and or donate to your charity shop?

18. Can you suggest any improvements that could be implemented into your charity shop itself or the wider charity retail market?

19. Do you think your charity shop is in the 'right' location in your area?

20. Have charity shops become standardised in the Twenty-First Century? Are they all now highly similar?

21. Are charity shops an important component of society today? Please give reasons?

22. Under what circumstances may you find yourself leaving your position as a volunteer?

23. Are you:

Male:

☐

Female:

☐

24: Age:

15-24 years:

☐

25-39 years:

☐

40-59 years:

☐

60& Over:

☐

25: Occupation Information:

Student:

☐

Self-Employed:

☐

Employed Full Time:

☐

Employed Part Time:

☐

Retired:

☐

Other:

☐

Please Specify:

26. Personal Annual Income:

< £15,000:

☐

£15-24,000:

☐☐

£25-39,000:

> £40,000:

☐

27. Where do you live permanently?

If Edinburgh, please specify your area.

THANK YOU!

People who DO donate to or shop in Charity Shops Edit

[Design Survey](#) [Collect Responses](#) [Analyze Results](#)

Edit Survey

[Preview Survey](#) [Send Survey »](#)

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PAGE 1

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1. Default Section

[+ Add Question](#) ▼Q1 [Edit Question](#) ▼ [Move](#) [Copy](#) [Delete](#)

1. What do you understand by 'charity shop'?

[+ Add Question](#) ▼ [Split Page Here](#)Q2 [Edit Question](#) ▼ [Move](#) [Copy](#) [Delete](#)

2. How often do you visit charity shops in your area?

[+ Add Question](#) ▼ [Split Page Here](#)Q3 [Edit Question](#) ▼ [Move](#) [Copy](#) [Delete](#)

3. For how many years have you been patronising charity shops?

[+ Add Question](#) ▼ [Split Page Here](#)Q4 [Edit Question](#) ▼ [Move](#) [Copy](#) [Delete](#)

4. When shopping, do you purposely go to charity shops?

[+ Add Question](#) ▼ [Split Page Here](#)

Q5 [Edit Question](#) ▼ [Move](#) [Copy](#) [Delete](#)

5. Is a reason for shopping in charity retailers purely convenience, due to their locations?

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Q6 [Edit Question](#) ▼ [Move](#) [Copy](#) [Delete](#)

6. When visiting another town/city, are you likely to seek out their charity shops?

[+ Add Question](#) ▼

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2.

[+ Add Question](#) ▼

Q7 [Edit Question](#) ▼ [Move](#) [Copy](#) [Delete](#)

1. Why do you donate and/or shop in charity shops?

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Q8 [Edit Question](#) ▼ [Move](#) [Copy](#) [Delete](#)

2. Are you a customer and donor to charity shops, or just one or the other? Why?

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Q9 [Edit Question](#) ▼ [Move](#) [Copy](#) [Delete](#)

3. Annually, how many donations (or resalable items) do you make to charity shops?

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Q10 [Edit Question](#) ▼ [Move](#) [Copy](#) [Delete](#)

4. Do you maintain loyalty to one charity shop in particular (purchasing and donating) and if so, why?

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Q11 Edit Question ▼ Move Copy Delete

5. When charity shopping, do you generally browse for items of interest, or do you have specific merchandise in mind?

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Q12 Edit Question ▼ Move Copy Delete

6. Would you consider becoming involved as a charity shop volunteer/employee and what would the reasons behind your answer be?

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Q13 Edit Question ▼ Move Copy Delete

1. What are your opinions on the expansion of charity shops, into Bridal wear, vintage clothing, specialist books and music stores, for example? Have you had experience of such shops?

+ Add Question ▼ Split Page Here

Q14 Edit Question ▼ Move Copy Delete

2. Do you think these stores will offer increased competition (or create more competition) between retailers, both charity and non-charity shops?

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Q15 Edit Question ▼ Move Copy Delete

3. Is the charity shop your preferred method of charitable donation? If you support charities through other means, please provide details.

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Q16 [Edit Question](#) [Move](#) [Copy](#) [Delete](#)

4. Is it a desire to give that encourages you to support charity retailers, or does the type of charity represented by the store (i.e. poverty relief, medical research) affect whether you will purchase from, or give to that particular shop?

[+ Add Question](#) [Split Page Here](#)

Q17 [Edit Question](#) [Move](#) [Copy](#) [Delete](#)

5. Do you always agree with where the money raised by charity shops goes? Does it need to be distributed elsewhere, e.g. within Britain, rather than overseas?

[+ Add Question](#) [Split Page Here](#)

Q18 [Edit Question](#) [Move](#) [Copy](#) [Delete](#)

6. How do you think the image of charity shops has changed in the Twenty-First Century?

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4.

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1. Please rate on the scale below your level of agreement with the reasons provided for the continuing success of charity shops in Great Britain & Northern Ireland:

	Agree Strongly.	Agree Slightly.	Neither agree/Disagree.	Disagree Slightly.	Disagree Strongly.
Increased awareness of poverty & natural disasters	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
- Concern for both global and national Welfare.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The effect of the media & marketing in society.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

	Agree Strongly.	Agree Slightly.	Neither agree/Disagree.	Disagree Slightly.	Disagree Strongly.
The changing image of charity shops- 'destigmatisation'.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Renewed consumer interest in vintage & retro items- changes in fashion.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The interiors and presentation within the charity shops today.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The growth of consumer culture and purchasing power.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Charity shops provide an easy and effective way of giving.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Society has become more generous.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Increased awareness of 'green' initiatives, such as reusing and recycling.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The availability of ethnically sourced 'fair trade' merchandise & food.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The regulatory role of the government, e.g. the effect of Thatcherism in the 1980s.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The continual economic problems.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Any other reasons (please specify)					
<input type="text"/>					

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5.

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Q20 [Edit Question ▼](#) [Add Question Logic](#) [Move](#) [Copy](#) [Delete](#)

1. Are you:

☐ Male

☐ Female

+ Add Question ▼ [Split Page Here](#)

Q21 [Edit Question ▼](#) [Add Question Logic](#) [Move](#) [Copy](#) [Delete](#)

2. Age:

☐ 15-24 years

☐ 25-39

☐ 40-59

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☐ 60 & Over

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Q22

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3. Occupational Information:

☐ Student

☐ Self-Employed

☐ Employed Full Time

☐ Employed Part Time

☐ Retired

☐ Other

If other, please specify.

+ Add Question ▼

Split Page Here

Q23

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4. Personal Annual Income:

☐ < £15,000

☐ £15 - 24,000

☐ £25 - 39,000

☐ £40 - 69,000

☐ > £70,000

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Q24

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5. Where do you live permanently?

If Edinburgh, Please
specify your area.

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People who DO NOT donate to or shop in Charity Shops Edit

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Edit Survey

Preview Survey Send Survey »

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PAGE 1 Edit Page Options Add Page Logic Move Copy Delete

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1. Default Section

+ Add Question ▼

Q1 Edit Question ▼ Move Copy Delete

1. What do you understand by the term 'charity shop'?

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Q2 Edit Question ▼ Move Copy Delete

2. Do you have a negative opinion of charity shops? If so, please detail your reasons.

+ Add Question ▼ Split Page Here

Q3 Edit Question ▼ Move Copy Delete

3. How do you feel about the presence of charity shops on Britain & Northern Ireland's streets?

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Q4 Edit Question ▼ Move Copy Delete

4. Are there too many charity shops- would you support abolition or a reduction in the number of charity shops? Please provide reasons.

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2.

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Q5

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1. In your opinion, do charity shops provide competition to other retailers, in addition to other charity shops?

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Q6

Edit Question ▼

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2. What do you do if you are disposing of goods which could be donated to charity shops?

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Q7

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3. Is there any way you could be encouraged to use charity shops?

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3.

+ Add Question ▼

Q8

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204

1. Please indicate on the following table, your reasons for not supporting charity shops:

	Agree	Agree slightly	Neither agree/Disagree	Disagree slightly	Disagree
No need for charity shops.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Dislike & put off by the shops.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Support charity through other methods.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Difficulty in deciding which shop to support.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
They provide unfair competition for mainstream retailers.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Charity shops deprive other retailers of using the space & providing employment.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Charity begins at home.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
No tradition of using charity shops.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Don't want to purchase or use second hand merchandise.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
New clothes can be purchased in some retailers for only slightly more than in charity shops.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Do not support the system represented by charity shops.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Disagree with where the revenue from the shops go. E.g. Overseas rather than to GB & N.I.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Any other reasons	<input type="text"/>				

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PAGE 4 Edit Page Options ▼ Move Copy Delete

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4.

+ Add Question ▼

Q9 Edit Question ▼ Add Question Logic Move Copy Delete

1. Are you:

☐ Male

☐ Female

+ Add Question ▼ Split Page Here

Q10 Edit Question ▼ Add Question Logic Move Copy Delete

2. Age:

☐ 15-24 years

☐ 25-39

☐ 40-59

☐ 60 & Over

[+ Add Question](#) [Split Page Here](#)

Q11 [Edit Question](#) [Add Question Logic](#) [Move](#) [Copy](#) [Delete](#)

3. Occupation Information:

☐ Student

☐ Self-Employed

☐ Employed- Full Time

☐ Employed- Part Time

☐ Retired

☐ Other

If other, please specify

[+ Add Question](#) [Split Page Here](#)

Q12 [Edit Question](#) [Add Question Logic](#) [Move](#) [Copy](#) [Delete](#)

4. Personal Annual Income:

☐ < £15,000

☐ £15 - 24,000

☐ £25 - 39,000

☐ £40 - 69,000

☐ > £70,000

[+ Add Question](#) [Split Page Here](#)

Q13 [Edit Question](#) [Move](#) [Copy](#) [Delete](#)

5. Where do you live permanently?

If Edinburgh, please specify your area:

[+ Add Question](#)

[+ Add Page](#)

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Questionnaire for PAID Employees in the Charity Sector

Design Survey Collect Responses Analyze Results

Edit Survey

Preview Survey Send Survey »

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Spring Day

Create Custom Theme

+ Add Page

PAGE 1

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1. Default Section

+ Add Question ▼

Q1 Edit Question ▼ Move Copy Delete

1. Which charity/charity shop are you involved with and where is your work located?

+ Add Question ▼ Split Page Here

Q2 Edit Question ▼ Move Copy Delete

2. What position do you hold within this charity/charity shop?

+ Add Question ▼ Split Page Here

Q3 Edit Question ▼ Move Copy Delete

3. How long have you worked in your present position?

+ Add Question ▼ Split Page Here

Q4 Edit Question ▼ Move Copy Delete

4. How many hours do you work per week?

+ Add Question ▼ Split Page Here

Q5 Edit Question ▼ Move Copy Delete

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5. Do you feel your wage level suitably reflects your contribution as an employee?

[+ Add Question](#)

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2.

[+ Add Question](#)

Q6 [Edit Question](#) [Move](#) [Copy](#) [Delete](#)

1. Have you got a history of employment within this sector? If so, please provide details.

[+ Add Question](#) [Split Page Here](#)

Q7 [Edit Question](#) [Move](#) [Copy](#) [Delete](#)

2. How did you come to be employed with your particular charity/charity shop?

[+ Add Question](#) [Split Page Here](#)

Q8 [Edit Question](#) [Move](#) [Copy](#) [Delete](#)

3. Is your present employment more fulfilling as you are working for the benefit of others?

[+ Add Question](#) [Split Page Here](#)

Q9 [Edit Question](#) [Move](#) [Copy](#) [Delete](#)

4. Do you have further personal aspirations to achieve within your position of employment?

[+ Add Question](#) [Split Page Here](#)

Q10 [Edit Question](#) [Move](#) [Copy](#) [Delete](#)

5. On entering employment within the charity sector, have your experiences matched or fallen short of your expectations? How?

+ Add Question ▼ Split Page Here

Q11 Edit Question ▼ Move Copy Delete

6. Do you feel charity and charity shops are an important component of society today?

+ Add Question ▼

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PAGE 3 Edit Page Options ▼ Add Page Logic Move Copy Delete

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3.

+ Add Question ▼

Q12 Edit Question ▼ Move Copy Delete

1. If you are involved in management, can you describe team dynamics and management structure? Who are you responsible for and who is responsible for you?

+ Add Question ▼ Split Page Here

Q13 Edit Question ▼ Move Copy Delete

2. Are there any recurring problems, relevant to the sector, within your employment?

+ Add Question ▼ Split Page Here

Q14 Edit Question ▼ Move Copy Delete

3. Can you describe any positive or negative experiences that have occurred whilst working? With customers? Colleagues? Managers?

+ Add Question ▼ Split Page Here

Q15 Edit Question ▼ Move Copy Delete

4. Under what circumstances would you consider leaving your present job, or the charity sector?

+ Add Question ▼ Split Page Here

Q16 Edit Question ▼ Move Copy Delete

5. If you were to leave as an employee, would you return as a volunteer?

+ Add Question ▼

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PAGE 4 Edit Page Options ▼ Add Page Logic Move Copy Delete

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4.

+ Add Question ▼

Q17 Edit Question ▼ Move Copy Delete

1. Within the charity shop sector, please rate how much you agree with the following statements:

	Agree strongly.	Agree slightly.	Neither agree/Disagree.	Disagree slightly.	Disagree strongly.
Theft from the store is a problem.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Volunteer numbers are insufficient.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
There is a high turnover of volunteers: they often don't stay long.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Trusting volunteers is difficult.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Opening hours are restricted & compromised due to volunteer problems.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Internal fraud is a dominant issue.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recruitment must be carried out continually.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Volunteers lack commitment.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Charity shops are competitive with all retailers.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Charity shops are more competitive with other charity shops.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Marketing & media are key when fundraising.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Any other comments (please specify)					
<input type="text"/>					

+ Add Question ▼

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PAGE 5 [Edit Page Options](#) [Add Page Logic](#) [Move](#) [Copy](#) [Delete](#) Show this page only

5.

[+ Add Question](#)

Q18 [Edit Question](#) [Move](#) [Copy](#) [Delete](#)

1. How often do you donate to/purchase from your charity/charity shops?

[+ Add Question](#) [Split Page Here](#)

Q19 [Edit Question](#) [Move](#) [Copy](#) [Delete](#)

2. Do you support any other charities apart from the one in which you are employed? How?

[+ Add Question](#) [Split Page Here](#)

Q20 [Edit Question](#) [Move](#) [Copy](#) [Delete](#)

3. Do you charity shops benefit from any relief/exemptions e.g. reduced rents, due to their charitable affiliation?

[+ Add Question](#) [Split Page Here](#)

Q21 [Edit Question](#) [Move](#) [Copy](#) [Delete](#)

4. How effective do you feel the regulatory bodies (i.e. charity Commission, OSCR) are within the sector?

[+ Add Question](#) [Split Page Here](#)

Q22 [Edit Question](#) [Move](#) [Copy](#) [Delete](#)

5. What effect does the government have upon the charity shop/charity sector, through legislation etc. and is it a positive authority? Please provide examples if possible.

[+ Add Question](#) [Split Page Here](#)

Q23 [Edit Question](#) [Move](#) [Copy](#) [Delete](#)

6. Can British charities today be compared to other multinational companies, especially those with global influence?

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PAGE 6

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6.

+ Add Question ▼

Q24 Edit Question ▼ Move Copy Delete

1. Please rate on the scale below your level of agreement with the reasons provided for the continuing success of charity shops in Great Britain & Northern Ireland:

	Agree strongly.	Agree.	Neither agree/Disagree.	Disagree.	Disagree strongly.
Increased awareness of poverty & natural disasters	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
- Concern for both global and national welfare.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The effect of the media & marketing in society.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The changing image of charity shops- 'destigmatisation'.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Renewed consumer interest in vintage & retro items- changes in fashion.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The interiors and presentation within charity shops today.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The growth of consumer culture and purchasing power.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Charity shops provide an easy and effective way of contributing.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Society has become more generous.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Increased awareness of 'green' initiatives, such as reusing and recycling.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The availability of ethnically sourced 'fair trade' merchandise & food.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The regulatory role of the government, e.g. the effect of Thatcherism in the 1980s.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The continual economic problems.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Any other reasons (please specify)

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PAGE 7

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7.

[+ Add Question](#) ▼Q25 [Edit Question](#) ▼ [Add Question Logic](#) [Move](#) [Copy](#) [Delete](#)

1. Are you:

☐ Male☐ Female[+ Add Question](#) ▼ [Split Page Here](#)Q26 [Edit Question](#) ▼ [Add Question Logic](#) [Move](#) [Copy](#) [Delete](#)

2. Age:

☐ 15 - 24 years☐ 25 - 39☐ 40 - 59☐ 60 & Over[+ Add Question](#) ▼ [Split Page Here](#)Q27 [Edit Question](#) ▼ [Add Question Logic](#) [Move](#) [Copy](#) [Delete](#)

3. Occupation Information:

☐ Student☐ Self-Employed☐ Employed Full Time☐ Employed Part Time☐ Retired☐ Other

If Other please specify

[+ Add Question](#) ▼ [Split Page Here](#)Q28 [Edit Question](#) ▼ [Add Question Logic](#) [Move](#) [Copy](#) [Delete](#)

4. Personal Annual Income:

☐ < £15,000☐ £15 - 24,000☐ £25 - 39,000☐ £40 - 69,000☐ > £70,000[+ Add Question](#) ▼ [Split Page Here](#)Q29 [Edit Question](#) ▼ [Move](#) [Copy](#) [Delete](#)

5. Where do you live permanently?

If Edinburgh, please
specify your area?

+ Add Question ▼

+ Add Page

Back to My Surveys

Preview Survey

Send Survey »

Charity Shop Volunteer Questionnaire Edit [Design Survey](#) [Collect Responses](#) [Analyze Results](#)

Edit Survey

[Preview Survey](#) [Send Survey »](#)

To change the look of your survey, select a theme below.

Dewy Meadow

[Create Custom Theme](#)

[+ Add Page](#)

PAGE 1

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1. Default Section

[+ Add Question](#)

Q1 [Edit Question](#) [Move](#) [Copy](#) [Delete](#)

1. Which charity shop are you involved with and where is it located?

[+ Add Question](#) [Split Page Here](#)

Q2 [Edit Question](#) [Move](#) [Copy](#) [Delete](#)

2. How many hours do you work there each week?

[+ Add Question](#) [Split Page Here](#)

Q3 [Edit Question](#) [Move](#) [Copy](#) [Delete](#)

3. How long have you volunteered in your present position?

[+ Add Question](#) [Split Page Here](#)

Q4 [Edit Question](#) [Move](#) [Copy](#) [Delete](#)

4. How would you define the term 'volunteer'?

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Q5 [Edit Question](#) [Move](#) [Copy](#) [Delete](#)

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5. What encouraged you to decide upon your particular charity?

[+ Add Question](#) [Split Page Here](#)

Q6 [Edit Question](#) [Move](#) [Copy](#) [Delete](#)

6. How did you become a charity shop volunteer, what were your reasons for doing so?

[+ Add Question](#) [Split Page Here](#)

Q7 [Edit Question](#) [Move](#) [Copy](#) [Delete](#)

7. Can you suggest any other reasons why people volunteer time to charity shops?

[+ Add Question](#)

[+ Add Page](#)

PAGE 2 [Edit Page Options](#) [Add Page Logic](#) [Move](#) [Copy](#) [Delete](#) Show this page only

2.

[+ Add Question](#)

Q8 [Edit Question](#) [Move](#) [Copy](#) [Delete](#)

1. Is the shop you volunteer at easily accessible to you from your home (i.e. within a 2 mile radius? Is this important?

[+ Add Question](#) [Split Page Here](#)

Q9 [Edit Question](#) [Move](#) [Copy](#) [Delete](#)

2. What do you enjoy about being a volunteer? Does it benefit you personally?

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Q10 [Edit Question](#) [Move](#) [Copy](#) [Delete](#)

3. When you first became interested in volunteering, did the experience meet or fall short of your expectations? How?

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[+ Add Question](#) [Split Page Here](#)

Q11 [Edit Question](#) [Move](#) [Copy](#) [Delete](#)

4. How important is the management system in the operation of your charity shop? Can you describe the team dynamics?

[+ Add Question](#) [Split Page Here](#)

Q12 [Edit Question](#) [Move](#) [Copy](#) [Delete](#)

5. Which tasks do you typically perform within your particular charity shop?

[+ Add Question](#) [Split Page Here](#)

Q13 [Edit Question](#) [Move](#) [Copy](#) [Delete](#)

6. Do you encounter any recurring problems in your charity shop work?

[+ Add Question](#)

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3.

[+ Add Question](#)

Q14 [Edit Question](#) [Move](#) [Copy](#) [Delete](#)

1. Can you describe any positive or negative experience that have occurred whilst volunteering? With customers? Colleagues? Managers?

[+ Add Question](#) [Split Page Here](#)

Q15 [Edit Question](#) [Move](#) [Copy](#) [Delete](#)

2. What type of customers does your shop tend to attract? Are they what you expected? Have you had any noteworthy experiences regarding your charity shops patrons?

+ Add Question ▼ Split Page Here

Q16 Edit Question ▼ Move Copy Delete

3. Do you support any other charities than the one for which you volunteer? How?

+ Add Question ▼ Split Page Here

Q17 Edit Question ▼ Move Copy Delete

4. How often do you purchase from and or donate to, your charity shop?

+ Add Question ▼

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PAGE 4 Edit Page Options ▼ Add Page Logic Move Copy Delete

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4.

+ Add Question ▼

Q18 Edit Question ▼ Move Copy Delete

1. Can you suggest any improvements that could be implemented into your charity shop itself, or the wider charity retail market?

+ Add Question ▼ Split Page Here

Q19 Edit Question ▼ Move Copy Delete

2. Do you think your charity shop is in the 'right' location in its area?

+ Add Question ▼ Split Page Here

Q20 Edit Question ▼ Move Copy Delete

3. Have charity shops become standardised in the Twenty-First Century? Are they all now highly similar?

+ Add Question ▼ Split Page Here

Q21 Edit Question ▼ Move Copy Delete

4. Are charity shops are an important component of society? Please give reasons.

+ Add Question ▼ Split Page Here

Q22 Edit Question ▼ Move Copy Delete

5. Under what circumstances may you find yourself leaving your position as a volunteer?

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5.

+ Add Question ▼

Q23 Edit Question ▼ Move Copy Delete

1. Please rate on the scale below your level of agreement with the reasons provided for the continuing success of charity shops in Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

	Agree strongly.	Agree.	Neither agree/Disagree.	Disagree.	Disagree strongly.
Increased awareness of poverty & natural disasters - Concern for both global and national welfare.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The effects of the media & marketing in society.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The changing image of charity shops- 'destigmatisation'.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Renewed consumer interest in vintage & retro items- changes in fashion.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The interiors and presentation within charity shops today.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The growth of consumer culture and purchasing power.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Charity shops provide an easy and effective way of contributing.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Society has become more generous.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Increased awareness of 'green' initiatives, such as reusing and recycling.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

	Agree strongly.	Agree.	Neither agree/Disagree.	Disagree.	Disagree strongly.
The availability of ethnically sourced 'fair trade' merchandise & food.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The regulatory role of the government, e.g. the effect of Thatcherism in the 1980s.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The continual economic problems.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Any other reasons (please specify)	<input type="text"/>				

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PAGE 6

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6.

+ Add Question ▼

Q24 Edit Question ▼ Add Question Logic Move Copy Delete

1. Are you:

☐ Male

☐ Female

+ Add Question ▼ Split Page Here

Q25 Edit Question ▼ Add Question Logic Move Copy Delete

2. Age:

☐ 15 - 24 years

☐ 25 - 39

☐ 40-59

☐ 60 & Over

+ Add Question ▼ Split Page Here

Q26 Edit Question ▼ Add Question Logic Move Copy Delete

3. Occupational Information:

☐ Student

☐ Self-Employed

☐ Employed Full Time

☐ Employed Part Time

☐ Retired

☐ Other

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If Other (please specify)

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Q27

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4. Personal Annual Income:

☐ < £15,000

☐ £15 - 24,000

☐ £25 - 39,000

☐ £40 - 69,000

☐ > £70,000

+ Add Question ▼

Split Page Here

Q28

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5. Where do you live permanently?

If Edinburgh, please specify your area.

+ Add Question ▼

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Back to My Surveys

Preview Survey

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25 Questions for Yes/No Website Poll

1. Do you think charity shops have a positive presence on the British High Street?
2. Are there too many charity shops- should there be a reduction in the number of charity shops in Britain?
3. Do you shop in charity shops?
4. Are you a regular (at least 2 visits per month) charity shop patron?
5. Do you frequently donate (at least 4 times a year) to charity shops?
6. When donating do you maintain loyalty to one charity shop in particular?
7. Are charity shops your preferred method of charitable donation?
8. Does shopping/donating in a charity shop give you a 'warm glow', feeling that you have contributed positively, for the greater good of society?
9. Does the type of charity represented by the store (i.e. poverty relief, medical research) determine whether you will shop there?
10. Has the image of charity shops, in your opinion, changed for the better in the Twenty-First Century?
11. Are you aware of the expansion of many charity shops into specialist areas, e.g. Vintage clothing, bridal wear, bookstores and furniture outlets?
12. Is this a good thing?
13. Have you purchased from a specialist charity shop?
14. Do you feel charity shops have a fair pricing system?
15. Are you likely to browse/purchase from more than one charity shop over the course of a shopping trip?
16. Do you think of charity shops in the same way as you do the other retailers present on the High Street?
17. Are charity retailers only in competition with other charity shops in the market?
18. Do you use charity shops (for donating/purchasing) as a means of recycling and reusing, as an environmentally friendly retailer?
19. Are you likely to purchase fair trade food/ethnically sourced goods from a charity shop?
20. Is there a stigma, a negative image attached to shopping in charity shops?
21. Will downturns in the economy mean that you will purchase more frequently from charity shops?
22. Is it acceptable for charity shops to receive concessions (in rent, rates etc) as they operate for charitable purposes?
23. Would you consider (or have you ever been) involved with a charity shop, as a volunteer or staff member?
24. Have you experienced charity shops in other countries outside of Great Britain and Northern Ireland?
25. Will you complete one of the questionnaires linked to this webpage?

AREA MANAGER INTERVIEW

Theme 1: Personal History.

Position, name etc.

How long worked for the charity / in present position.

Involved how? Retail / charity background?

Personal opinion of job / level of satisfaction with employer / degree of fulfilment / career option or more vocational towards charity / any aspirations to progress further within the sector.

Any desire to leave the sector? Defect to another charity for a better paid job / does salary reflect hours worked / how many hours typically worked in a week. Salary and staff incentives / benefits? Stress levels?? Expectations- met or fallen. Personal pressure experienced by position / any major positives and negatives about job.

Support any other charity / loyalty to own charity only.

What do charity shops symbolise / mean to you?

Theme 2: Management responsibility.

Responsibility and job role.

How many volunteers do they oversee?

How many shops deputy managers / paid staff? Support paid staff?

Training responsibilities?

Ratio speciality: non-speciality shops. Different approaches to speciality/non-speciality shops?

Success of specialist shops compared to non-specialist?

Why such an increase in no. of charity shops over last 10-15 years?

How are charity shops an important element of society today?

Profit and turnover etc- what shops must make to stay solvent / profit in their designated region in last year?

Shop in s 'good' location? Affluent/impooverished areas? Locational tendencies of the charity shops? Any preferences in locations- near to other charity shops etc?

Recruitment issues- continually needed? Any shops 'unlucky'? Influence of marketing and media.

Charity as business / corporatisation. Discussion of professionalisation. Fair trade and eco-products. 'Green' initiatives. Unwrapped. Vintage. TRAD/MOD dichotomy.

Pricing- guidance, standardisation and discrepancies. Prices different

Difficult to coordinate between all shops? Standardisation issues? Opposition from shops? HQ little experience of the shops themselves.

Communication with the HQ- Any conflicts of interest / disagreements / opposition to any policy implementations?

Unrealistic targets?

Adequate training provided? For staff and volunteers? Need management hierarchy?

Disciplinary issues- internal fraud, trust issues in shops with managers and volunteers, any major problems.

DONATION ISSUES...

Opinion of new type of volunteers- community service and new deal work placements.

RECURRING PROBLEMS. POSITIVE / NEGATIVE EXPERIENCES. Staff, volunteers, HQ.

Knowledge of benefits received by charity shops? Legislation issues- own personal knowledge. Government- are charities and charity shops and extension of the welfare state? Provision for the impoverished?

PROPERTY ASSET MANAGER INTERVIEW

Theme 1: Personal History.

Position, name etc.

How long worked for the charity / in present position.

Involved how? Retail / charity background?

Personal opinion of job / level of satisfaction with employer / degree of fulfilment / career option or more vocational towards charity / any aspirations to progress further within the sector.

Any desire to leave the sector? Defect to another charity for a better paid job / does salary reflect hours worked / how many hours typically worked in a week. Salary and staff incentives / benefits? Salary comparable with same job on commercial level?

Stress levels?? Expectations- met or fallen. Personal pressure experienced by position / any major positives and negatives about job.

Support any other charity / loyalty to own charity only.

What do charity shops symbolise / mean to you?

Theme 2: Management responsibility.

Responsibility and job role. Shops and trading treated as a separate aspect of main charity?

How many staff/employees do they oversee?

Support staff- maintenance and facilities etc?

Training responsibilities?

Ratio speciality: non-speciality shops. Different approaches to speciality/non-speciality shops? Success of specialist shops compared to non-specialist?

Why such an increase in no. of charity shops over last 10-15 years?

How are charity shops an important element of society today?

Profit and turnover etc- what happens when a shop is unprofitable- what measures are taken. Buying out of lease etc? Pros and cons to this situation?

Shop in s 'good' location? Affluent/impoverished areas? Locational tendencies of the charity shops? Any preferences in locations- near to other charity shops etc?

PROPERTY PORTFOLIO...details

Cost allowances for maintenance and contingencies? A fixed amount each year, or flexible? Problems with vandalism, arson, and damage to shops?

Do the shops have to make a specific amount of rent themselves or is the £ pot centralised and averaged out, so that stronger shops support the weaker ones?

Recruitment issues- continually needed? Any shops 'unlucky'? Influence of marketing and media. Any redundancies / job losses within charity?

Charity as business / corporatisation. Discussion of professionalisation. Fair trade and eco-products. 'Green' initiatives. Unwrapped. Vintage. TRAD/MOD dichotomy.

Level of standardisation through all the shops? Size, layout, etc? What is essential when looking for shop property? Different when looking for a specialist shop?

Opposition to the shops? Planning issues & FSBs? HQ little experience of the shops themselves.

Communication with the HQ- Any conflicts of interest / disagreements / opposition to any policy implementations? Is the management hierarchy necessary?

What is the management hierarchy?

Unrealistic targets/expectations for you as a property manager?

RECURRING PROBLEMS. DONATIONS ISSUES.

Variable Name	Variable Label	Values: Labels and Codes	Used In...
GENDER	Gender of respondent	1= Male, 2=Female, 9=No data	DNDS, DDS, VOL, PAID
AGE	Age of respondent	1=15-24, 2=25-39, 3=40-59, 4=60 and Over, 9=No data	DNDS, DDS, VOL, PAID
OCCINFO1	Occupational Information	1=Student, 2=Self-Employed, 3=Employed full time, 4=Employed part time, 5= Retired, 6=Other, 9=No data	DNDS, DDS, VOL
OCCINFO2	Occupational Information	1=Employed full time, 2 =Employed part time, 9=No data	PAID
MARISTAT	Marital Status	1=Single, 2=With a long term partner, 3=Married, 4=Widow/Widower, 9=No data	PAID
SUPPDEPS	Does the respondent support any dependants?	1=Yes, 2=No, 9=No data	PAID
QUALIFIC	Qualification level	1=GCSE/Standard level, 2=A levels of HND/NVQ, 3=Degree, 9=No data	PAID
PANINC	Personal annual income 1	1=<£15,000, 2=£15-24,000, 3=£25-39,000, 4=£40-69,000, 5=>£70,000, 9=No data	DNDS, DDS, VOL, PAID
PERMRES	Permanent residence	1=England, 2=Scotland, 3=Northern Ireland, 4=Wales, 5=Edinburgh, 9=No data	DNDS, DDS, VOL, PAID

SPSS Codebook Sample

NVivo8: Coding Analysis

SOURCES

Internals

DDS Questionnaires (Do Donate/Shop)

- Questionnaire responses, DDS1-91.

DNDS Questionnaires (Do Not Donate/Shop)

- Questionnaire responses, DNDS1-24.

INTERVIEWS

- Interview Transcripts, INT1-9 (Participants identified by name).

PAID Questionnaires

- Questionnaire responses, PAID1-119.

VOLUNTEER Questionnaires

- Questionnaire responses, VOLUNTEER1-239.

NODES

Free Nodes

- A heterotopic retailer.
- Circuit of capital, money, profit.
- Consumerism and consumption.
- Governance and the state.
- Poverty and the class system.
- Retail.
- Social form, processes and practices in charity retailing.
- The space of the charity retailer.

Tree Nodes

INTERVIEW THEMES

- Negatives of volunteer staff.
- Unrealistic demands.
- Retail branch of charity undervalued.
- Profit maximisation, business acumen.
- Worked in charity before.
- Personal connection to charity.
- Lack of support from higher management.

- The grey army and other stereotypes.
- Competition.
- Paid staff essential.
- Volunteers as management.
- Charity structure, hierarchy.
- Communication issues.
- Edinburgh charity map.
- Environmental factors, reuse, recycle, etc.
- Fair trade.
- Recruitment.
- Charity as a changing sector.
- Professionalisation.
- Tourism.
- Donations.
- Positives of volunteer staff.
- Alternative career- not as corporate.
- Too much paperwork and long hours.
- Personal motivations and ambitions.
- Short term career.
- Long term career.
- Salary inadequate.
- How they became involved with charity retailing.

VOLUNTEER PERCEPTIONS

- Of management.
- Effect of government- uninformed generally?
- No specific connection to charity.
- Definition of volunteer.
- Of charity and volunteering- rose tinted glasses?
- Charity as a lifestyle change.

THE 'IDEA' OF CHARITY

- Definition of charity.

CHARITY SHOPS AS A RETAILER

- No longer for the impoverished.
- As any other retailer on the high street.
- Rates and tax breaks.
- Undercutting the second hand market.
- A recession proof retailer.
- Specialised retailers.
- Overheads etc.
- Underperforming shops.
- Location.
- Competition.
- Opposition to charity retailers.

CHARITY RETAIL AS A CAREER

- Short term career.
- Long term ambitions.
- Loyal to one charity.
- Stressful and overworked.
- Fulfilling and satisfying job.
- Vocation rather than job.
- Poor remuneration.
- Insufficient support from higher management.
- In paid management.
- Targets.
- Responsibilities.

PROBLEMS IN CHARITY RETAILING

- Used as a rubbish tip!
- As a counselling service.

- Unable to treat volunteers as you would paid staff.
- Theft.
- Internal fraud.
- Lack of respect from volunteers and customers.
- Disciplinary actions.
- Problems with disabled volunteers.
- Customers asking for discount.
- Insufficient donations.
- Trust issues.

POSITIVES

- Camaraderie, friendship etc.
- Giving something back.
- Activity in retirement.
- Have been helped by the charity.
- Fulfilling and satisfying.
- Helping others.
- Profit from valuable donations.
- Diversity of sector.

NEGATIVES

- Dodgy donations!
- Lack of volunteers.
- Unsuitable and reliable volunteers.
- Trust essential.
- Incompetence.
- Unrealistic demands.
- Tensions in volunteer community.

CHARITY RETAILING AS A CULTURE

- British specific retailers.
- Charity shopping as an 'event'.

- Bargain hunting.
- Valuable finds.
- Essential due to financial circumstances.
- Essential in recessionary times.

EFFECT AND INFLUENCE OF THE MEDIA

- Advertising essential and effective.
- Public overwhelmed.

MANAGEMENT PERCEPTIONS

- Staff and volunteer structure.
- Volunteers taken for granted, exploitation.
- Those at the top have little knowledge of shop floor activities.
- Communication problems.
- Opinions not valued.

DO DONATE AND SHOP

- Positive experiences of charity shopping.
- Negative experiences of charity shopping.
- Become involved or not and why?
- Frequency of visits.

DO NOT DONATE AND SHOP

- Why not give or shop there?
- Major problems with charity retailing.
- Negative experiences.

VOLUNTEER QUESTIONS

- Which charity shop are you involved with and where is it located?
- How many hours do you work there each week?
- How long have you volunteered in your present position?
- How would you define the term 'volunteer'? What encouraged you to decide upon your particular charity?

- How did you become a charity shop volunteer, what were your reasons for doing so?
- Can you suggest any other reasons why people volunteer time to charity shops?
- Is the shop you volunteer at easily accessible to you from your home (i.e. within a 2 mile radius?) Is this important?
- What do you enjoy about being a volunteer? Does it benefit you personally?
- When you first became interested in volunteering, did the experience meet or fall short of your expectations? How?
- How important is the management system in the operation of your charity shop? Can you describe the team dynamics?
- Which tasks do you typically perform within your particular charity shop?
- Do you encounter any recurring problems in your charity shop work?
- Can you describe any positive or negative experiences that have occurred whilst volunteering? With customers? Colleagues? Managers?
- What type of customers does your shop tend to attract? Are they what you expected? Have you had any noteworthy experiences regarding your charity shop patrons?
- Do you support any other charities other than the one for which you volunteer? How?
- How often do you purchase from and or donate to, your charity shop?
- Can you suggest any improvements that could be implemented into your charity shop itself, or the wider charity retail market?
- Do you think your charity shop is in the 'right' location in its area?
- Have charity shops become standardised in the Twenty-First Century? Are they all now highly similar?
- Are charity shops an important component of society? Please give reasons.
- Under what circumstances may you find yourself leaving your position as a volunteer?

PAID QUESTIONS

- Which charity/charity shop are you involved with and where is your work located?
- What position do you hold within the charity/charity shop?
- How long have you worked in your present position?

- How many hours do you work per week?
- Do you feel your wage level suitably reflects your contribution as an employee?
- Have you got a history of employment with your particular charity/charity shop?
- How did you come to be employed with your particular charity/charity shop?
- Is your present employment more fulfilling as you are working for the benefit of others?
- Do you have further personal aspirations to achieve within your position of employment?
- On entering employment within the charity sector, have your experiences matched or fallen short of your expectations? How? Do you feel charity and charity shops are an important component of society today?
- If you are involved in management, can you describe team dynamics and management structure? Who are you responsible for and who is responsible for you? Are there any recurring problems, relevant to the sector, within your employment?
- Can you describe any positive or negative experiences that have occurred whilst working? With customers? Colleagues? Managers?
- Under what circumstances would you consider leaving your present job, or the charity sector?
- If you were to leave as an employee, would you return as a volunteer?
- How often do you donate to/purchase from your charity/charity shop?
- Do you support any other charities apart from the one in which you are employed? How?
- Do your charity shops benefit from any relief/exemption e.g. reduced rents, due to their charitable status?
- What effect does the government have upon the charity shop/sector through legislation etc, and is it a positive authority? Please provide examples if possible.
- How effective do you feel the regulatory bodies (i.e. charity commission, OSCR) are within the sector?
- Can British charities today be compared to other multinational companies, especially those with global influence?

DDS QUESTIONS (Do Donate/Shop)

- What do you understand by 'charity shop'?

- How often do you visit charity shops in your area?
- For you many years have you been patronising charity shops?
- When shopping do you purposely go to charity shops?
- Is a reason for shopping in charity retailers purely convenience, due to their locations?
- When visiting another town/city, are you likely to seek out their charity shops?
- Why do you donate and/or shop in charity shops?
- Are you a customer and donor to charity shops, or just one or the other? Why?
- Annually, how many donations (of resalable items) do you make to charity shops?
- Do you maintain loyalty to one charity shop in particular (purchasing and donating) and if so, why?
- When charity shopping, do you generally browse for items of interest, or do you have specific merchandise in mind?
- Would you consider becoming involved as a charity shop volunteer/employee and what would the reasons behind your answer be?
- What are your opinions on the expansion of charity shops, into Bridal wear, vintage clothing, specialist books and music stores, for example? Have you had experience of such shops?
- Do you think these stores will offer increased competition (or create more competition) between retailers, both charity and non-charity shops?
- Is the charity shop your preferred method of charitable donation? If you support charities through other means, please provide details.
- Is it a desire to give that encourages you to support charity retailers, or does the type of charity represented by the store (i.e. poverty relief, medical research) affect whether you will purchase from, or give to that particular shop?
- Do you always agree with where the money raised by charity shops goes? Does it need to be distributed elsewhere, e.g. within Britain, rather than overseas?
- How do you think the image of charity shops has changed in the Twenty-First Century?

DNDS QUESTIONS (Do Not Donate/Shop)

- What do you understand by the term 'charity shop'?
- Do you have a negative opinion of charity shops? If so, please detail your reasons?

- How do you feel about the presence of charity shops on Britain and Northern Ireland's streets?
- Are there too many charity shops- would you support abolition or a reduction in the number of charity shops? Please provide reasons.
- In your opinion, do charity shops provide competition to other retailers, in addition to other charity shops?
- What do you do if you are disposing of good which could be donated to charity shops? Is there any way you could be encouraged to use charity shops?

Appendix 2:

The Charity Retailer & the Six Principles of Heterotopia

How the Charity Retailer can be 'Categorised' as a Heterotopia.

1: There is probably not a single culture in the world that fails to constitute heterotopias. Crisis heterotopias, privileged or sacred or forbidden places reserved for individuals who are, in relation to society....in a state of crisis. Heterotopias of crisis are disappearing today and are being replaced by heterotopias of deviation: Those in which individuals whose behaviour is deviant in relation to the required mean or norm are placed.

Charity retailers could be represented crisis heterotopia, as they can benefit those in society who are in a state of impoverishment and financial crisis, by offering goods at reduced prices. They also, through their charities represent a benefit to society and attempt to negate the crisis caused by the repercussions and consequences of capitalist reproduction. Of course then capitalist society can be seen as a heterotopia of crisis, as it is continually deconstructing and reforming in an attempt to maintain control and enforce the circuit of capital. Although, if the heterotopic spaces of crisis are dissipating today, the charity retailer can also be seen as occupying a space of deviation, as a diverse number of volunteers reproduce through the charity retailing form through which, as they are not engaged in the wage labour relation, they are deviant to the norm. However, this only succeeds in charity retailers behaving in an increasingly unique, but capitalist manner.

2: A society, as its history unfolds, can make an existing heterotopia function in a very different fashion; for each heterotopia has a precise and determined function within a society and the same heterotopia can...have one function or another.

Charity retailers have a precise and determined function within a society; they have become less concerned with the impoverished locally and more orientated toward profit maximisation, which is a major change in their form. The number of charity retailers in Britain has continued to increase and prove competitive to all retailers, so the time space relationship in conjunction with the social relations have demonstrated that if a heterotopia, they function in a different fashion throughout history. The progression of historical relations has resulted in the colourful evolution of the charity retailer. However, this principle can freely be recognised when relating to other spaces

which have a precise and determined function. This principle illustrates the lack of need for the heterotopic identity, as the defining aspects are so broad, that so many spaces can be viewed in this way, rendering the concept entirely redundant.

3: The heterotopia is capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible. The garden is the smallest parcel of the world and then it is the totality of the world.

The charity retailer is a contradiction in terms and ridden with antagonisms, which have been examined previously. There is juxtaposition between the waged and non-waged, the donated and bought in goods, charity and non-charity retailers, between customers who experience extreme circumstances, such as the affluent and the impoverished. The charity retailers provide an 'in-between' for the affluent to indirectly relate to those in need, the charity retailer is both a mediator and a barrier within society. Although the social relations which reproduce within the charity retailer are consistently contradictory to each other, they do successfully reproduce, within a global society, which cannot be considered as a totality.

4: Heterotopias are most often linked to slices in time- which is to say that they open onto what might be termed, for the sake of symmetry, heterochronies...when men arrive at a sort of absolute break with their traditional time.

There are no absolutes, only the interaction of the social relations in the creation of space and the built environment. Historically, charity retailers are related to time as they have reproduced in response to the social relations present in society at a particular time, but there is no traditional break. The volunteer mechanism could be seen as breaking from traditional time, as the volunteers are offering their time and not operating for their own financial gain. In the same respect the charity retailer breaks with 'real' time in their reliance upon volunteers.

5: Heterotopias always presuppose a system of opening and closing that both isolates them and makes them penetrable...the heterotopic site is not freely accessible like a public place.

Charity retailers, as with a cornucopia of other spaces within capitalist society are not freely accessible and operate an opening and closing system. This cannot deem them 'different', but they are isolated with reference to their alternative position in the retail market compared to other retailers. They have also become, in recent decades, concentrated spatially in more affluent areas, thus isolating the deprived in society. Charity retailers are both isolated but penetrable.

6: The last trait of heterotopias is that they have a function in relation to all the space that remains. Either their role is to create a space of illusion that exposes every real space, all the sites inside of which human life is partitioned as still more illusory. Or else, on the contrary, their role is to create a space that is other, another real space, as perfect, as meticulous, as well arranged as ours is messy, ill constructed and jumbled. This latter type would be the heterotopia, not of illusion, but of compensation.

The charity retailer, as a mediator and barrier, represents an illusory space as it operates to benefit and improve the real space in society, through their charitable cause, be it medical research or poverty relief. The charity retailer obviously partitions the public from the inner workings of the charity and the results of their custom/donations, but provides a real space, of compensation, in creating a space which is meticulous and well arranged; another direct effect of becoming increasingly professional.

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